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Remarques sur les facéties de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, avec des extraits de la Risālä-i-dilgušā.

Par

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Les remarques suivantes sont le résultat d'un examen de l'édition de Constantinople des Laṭāïf de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī que j'ai fait dans l'intention de donner une traduction danoise d'une partie des ouvrages satiriques et burlesques de cet auteur persan très original du 14ᵉ siècle de notre ère[1]. Le texte de l'édition en question contient un assez grand nombre de fautes. Je me borne à en relever une qui se trouve dans le titre du 6ᵉ chapitre de la *Risālä-i-aχlāq-ul-ašrāf* (‚Traité sur la morale des aristocrates'). Le texte porte : در حلم ووفا, mais dans tout le chapitre il n'est pas question de ‚fidélité', tandis que *waqār*, ‚tranquillité, sérénité, douceur', y figure souvent à côté de *ḥilm*. Ce n'est que dans le chapitre 7 que la fidélité est discutée. Je n'ai pas eu l'occasion d'examiner aucun manuscrit contenant la ‚Morale des aristocrates'[2], mais je ne doute pas que le titre du 6ᵉ chapitre de ce traité ne doive être lu : در حلم ووقار.

Poètes persans cités et parodiés par ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī.

Aucun poète du parnasse persan n'est sacré pour ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī. Il exerce sa verve satirique au dépens des plus vénérés des poètes

[1] Ceux qui s'intéressent à l'auteur et à son œuvre sont renvoyés aux pp. 230—257 de l'excellente ‚History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion' de M. E. G. Browne.

[2] Un manuscrit appartenant à la bibliothèque de l'India Office, Delhi Collection Pers. nº 1208, que le bibliothécaire en chef, M. Thomas, a mis gracieusement à ma disposition à Copenhague, renferme la plupart des ouvrages satiriques de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, mais non pas la *Risālä-i-aχlāq-ul-ašrāf*.

antérieurs et contemporains. Dans le 3ᵉ chapitre de la ‚Morale des aristocrates' on trouve (p. 16—17) une pièce de poésie dans le mètre de l'épopée historique où est décrite avec une obscénité révoltante une scène entre Rustäm et Hūmān. C'est le Šāhnāmä travesti.

Dans la Risālä-i-aχlāq-ul-ašrāf et dans le *Rīšnāmä* (‚Livre de la barbe'), ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī a inséré un certain nombre de vers d'autres poètes persans, le plus souvent pour les ridiculiser. Voici les vers dont j'ai pu identifier les auteurs.

Dans le Rīšnāmä, où l'auteur se moque en même temps de la vétillerie pseudo-scientifique et du ton guindé du lyrisme érotique de l'époque, il cite entre autres (p. 35) le distique suivant :

بندهٔ آن خطّ مشکینم که گوئی مورچه   پای مشک آلوده بر برگ گل نسرین نهاد

Je trouve ce vers dans le *Anīs-ul-uššāq* de Šäräf-ud-dīn Rāmī (p. 46 de la traduction de M. Huart), où Abū Firās est nommé comme l'auteur.

ʿUmar-i-Xayyām est cité au moins deux fois. Le quatrain nº 431 de l'édition de Whinfield (etc. ای آنکه نتیجهٔ چهار وهفتی) est inséré dans le premier chapitre de la ‚Morale des aristocrates' (p. 11). Dans une des anecdotes persanes de la *Risālä-i-dilgušā* (nº 70, p. 91), le premier hémistiche du quatrain nº 33 de l'édition de Whinfield (پیش از من وتو لیل ونهاری بودست) est cité.

Le cheikh Saʿdī est peut-être le poète le plus souvent cité dans les satires de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī. Une seule fois notre auteur le cite nominalement. C'est vers la fin du discours de ‚la Barbe' dans le Rīšnāmä (p. 36) :

روح پاک شیخ سعدی را در خطاب آرم تا گوید

تو پار برفتهٔ چو آهو   وامسال بیامدی چو یوزی
سعدی خط سبز دوست دارد   نه هر الفی جوالد وزی

Je n'ai pas réussi à retrouver ces deux distiques dans les œuvres de Saʿdī.

Ayant terminé la plaisanterie burlesque du Rīšnāmä par l'invitation de jouir de l'amour des jeunes hommes avant que la barbe

naissante ne leur défigure le visage, il ajoute à la fin (p. 41) ce vers tiré de l'introduction du *Gulistān* de Saʿdī (édition Kaviani, p. 19):

مراد ما نصیحت بود گفتیم حوالت با خدا کردیم ورفتیم

Un autre vers du Gulistān (éd. Kav. p. 19):

مگر صاحبدلی روزی برحمت کند در حق درویشان دعائی

a été imité par ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, qui termine ainsi la préface de sa ,Morale des aristocrates' (p. 9) :

مگر صاحبدلی روزی بنجائی کند در کار اینمسکین دعائی

Dans le chapitre 5 de la ,Morale des aristocrates' (p. 23), un avare fait l'apologie de l'avarice en citant ce vers ,du poète' :

اندک اندک بهم شود بسیار دانه دانه است غلّه در انبار

(Gulistān, éd. Kav. p. 209).

Dans le 6e chapitre du même livre, l'auteur explique comment le cocu est heureux dans l'autre monde : étant exclu du paradis, il est débarrassé du dépit de voir les cheikhs et les ascètes et peut citer le vers (p. 26) :

گر ترا در بهشت باشد جای دیگران دوزخ اختیار کنند

Ce distique est tiré également du Gulistān (éd. de Platts, p. 109).

La partie du chap. 7 qui traite de la véracité, est une satire mordante contre la morale opportuniste de Saʿdī. D'après la morale nouvelle, la ,morale adoptée', l'homme doit dire ce qui plaît au tempérament des gens. ,Si, par exemple, à minuit, un grand seigneur dit : „Voilà le temps de la prière du midi", on doit s'avancer et dire : „Tu dis vrai, le soleil brûle, aujourd'hui, d'une chaleur excessive!" et pour mettre du poids à ces paroles, on doit jurer sur le coran et offrir de prononcer trois fois la formule de séparation devant sa femme, si ce n'est pas vrai' (p. 29). A comparer le vers du Gulistān (éd. Kav. p. 56) :

اگر خود روز را گوید شبست این بباید گفت اینک ماه وپروین

,S'il (le sultan) dit en plein jour : „Il est nuit maintenant", il faut répondre : „Voilà la lune et les pléiades".'

Et un peu plus loin (p. 30), ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī cite Saʿdī comme un des ‚grands maîtres', c'est-à-dire comme le champion de la ‚morale adoptée', contre laquelle l'auteur dirige les flèches de son ironie :

بزرگان از اینجهت گفته اند دروغ مصلحت آمیز به از راست فتنه انگیز

‚Les grands maîtres ont dit : „Un mensonge utile vaut mieux qu'une vérité pernicieuse".' C'est la fameuse maxime donnée par Saʿdī dans le premier conte du Gulistān (ed. Kav. p. 20). ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī revient à cette matière dans son *Risālä-i-ṣäd pänd*, où le 17ᵉ conseil est celui-ci (p. 42) : ‚Evitez, autant que possible, de dire la vérité, afin que vous n'importuniez pas les gens, et que ceux-ci ne se mettent pas sans raison en colère contre vous.'

Il est bien possible que le grand renom et la grande popularité dont jouissaient les écrits de Saʿdī aient donné de la jalousie à ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī. En tout cas, ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī a eu très peu de vénération pour l'auteur des *χabīṯāt* (‚obscénités'). Témoin l'anecdote suivante, qui se trouve dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā (chap. II, nᵒ 24, p. 83 sq.) :

Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn vit en passant le cheikh Saʿdī qui, ayant uriné, frottait son membre contre le mur pour le nettoyer. Il dit : ‚O cheikh, pourquoi est-ce que tu perces des trous dans les murs des gens ?' Saʿdī répondit : ‚O Quṭb-ud-dīn, sois tranquille, il n'est plus si fort qu'au temps où tu l'a connu.'

Vers et prose en dialecte.

M. E. G. Browne, dans un article intitulé ‚Some Notes on the Poetry of the Persian Dialects' (JRAS. 1895, pp. 773—825), a donné la description d'un manuscrit contenant des poésies en dialecte, composées par seize poètes persans. Deux poèmes de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī se trouvent dans cette collection, mais ils ne figurent pas parmi les spécimens que M. Browne a donnés dans son article.

Dans les ouvrages satiriques de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, j'ai trouvé trois passages en dialecte. Je me borne à les citer sans essayer de les analyser. De tels passages en dialecte sont généralement plus ou moins corrompus par l'insouciance et la maladresse des copistes,

et pour juger de la possibilité d'utiliser pour la dialectologie les passages en question il faudrait comparer le texte des différents manuscrits qui existent.

Dans une anecdote racontée dans le 2e chapitre de la ‚Morale des aristocrates' (p. 13), un jeune homme d'Ispahan dit : ای آغا خدایرا بم کاسم, et les deux derniers mots, qui sont du dialecte d'Ispahan, sont expliqués de la manière suivante : یعنی بکا مرا ومکش مرا.

Les deux autres passages, en vers tous les deux, se trouvent dans le Rīšnāmä. Il y a d'abord (p. 33) un distique auquel l'auteur donne la qualification de ‚pehlevi', expression appliquée par les auteurs persans à différents dialectes iraniens, surtout à ceux parlés dans les pays qui formaient la Médie ancienne.

نی اج پای روانی دست یاری   نه اج تخت بدم امیـــد واری

Le vers est à peu près du persan pur, seulement la forme اج pour از en trahit le caractère dialectal.

Un distique dans le dialecte de Rai est donné p. 36. Il paraît être assez corrompu :

ریشا هزار بار بیاته او میریـــم   باتو حشر مان بنه کونان سردابری

La lecture du manuscrit Delhi Coll. Pers. n° 1208 de l'India Office diffère beaucoup de celle de l'édition de Constantinople. Ce manuscrit présente (f. 9b) le distique comme composé dans le dialecte d'Hamadan :

اهل همدان سمانت کنان گویند

ریشا هزار بار به سپس تو او مریـم   تاخون حشر بحنن تبه کویان سر او بری

Le vin couleur de feu.

M. G. Jacob dit dans son mémoire intéressant ‚Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Ġazelen des Ḥāfiẓ' (Oriental. Studien, Festschrift Theodor Nöldeke, 1906, t. II, p. 1067) : ‚Wohl um des Geschmacks und nicht um der Farbe willen wird der Wein (Ḥāf. 17. 4) *atäšīn* und (65. 6) *atäš-i-χum-χānäh* genannt, denn die Glut des Feuers des Weins treibt den Schweiß auf die Wange : 486. 2.' Les poètes persans, en comparant le vin au feu, ont pensé, sans

doute, à l'ardeur du vin, mais l'idée de la couleur n'est point exclue. Témoin ce vers de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī (p. 11):

بر او یکجرعه می همرنگ آذر گرامیتر زصد خون بـــرادر

‚Pour lui une seule gorgée du vin couleur de feu vaut mieux que le sang de cent frères tués.'

La Risālā-i-dilgušā.

Dans la préface de cette collection d'anecdotes, ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī dit qu'il a mis par écrit dans ce livre-ci ‚quelques traits d'esprit, bons mots et contes qu'il avait en mémoire'. Il a divisé sa collection en deux chapitres, dont un contient des anecdotes en langue arabe, l'autre des historiettes en persan. Les anecdotes arabes et persanes ont généralement le même caractère: propos et réponses spirituels ou sots. Beaucoup des bons mots et saillies sont obscènes, d'autres touchent des questions de religion, qui sont traitées souvent d'une façon très irrespectueuse. Mais les personnes sont en partie différentes dans les deux chapitres. Des personnages qui figurent souvent dans les anecdotes arabes ne sont pas mentionnés dans les anecdotes persanes et vice versa. Dans les deux chapitres on rencontre des personnages historiques appartenant aux premiers siècles du califat: Muʿāwiya (I. 13), Ḥajjāj (I. 66), Yäzīd (II. 132), Mähdī (II. 8), Hārūn er-Rāšīd (I. 87) et ses contemporains, J̌aʿfär le Barmécide (I. 87) et Abū Nuwās (voir ci-dessous, p. 18), Ma'mūn (II. 74) et Isḥāq de Mossoul (I. 78), Mutäwäkkil (II. 181), Wāṯiq (II. 54), le littérateur J̌āḥiẓ (II. 188) etc.. Mais c'est seulement dans le 2e chapitre que figurent des personnages qui ont vécu dans un temps assez près de celui de l'auteur, dans les 13e et 14e siècles: l'Atābeg Salgar Šāh (1ère moitié du 13e siècle; II. 69 et 71), l'émir mongol Ṭugačār (m. en 1295; II. 18), Šämsud-dīn Ṣahibdīvān (m. en 1284; II. 252 et 253) et son fils Bähāud-dīn (m. en 1279; II. 114), le vézir Rāšīd-ud-dīn Fäḍlullāh (m. en 1318; II. 61) et son fils Ġiyāṯ-ud-dīn (m. en 1336; II. 141 et 267), le sultan Abū Saʿīd (m. en 1335; II. 208) et un certain

nombre de poètes et de théologiens de cette période, dont les plus importants seront mentionnés ci-dessous.

Il paraît ainsi que les deux chapitres soient tirés de sources différentes; autrement on ne comprend pas non plus pourquoi l'auteur s'est servi de deux langues différentes. Il est assez significatif que ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, étant né dans le voisinage de Qazvīn et ayant vécu la plus grande partie de sa vie dans cette ville même, sache raconter tant d'anecdotes sur la sottise des hommes de Qazvīn : ce sont des traits qui ont eu cours parmi les voisins des Qazvīniens. Ces anecdotes-ci se trouvent exclusivement dans le 2e chapitre. Tout cela porte à croire que l'auteur s'est servi, pour le premier chapitre, de sources arabes écrites, tandis que les anecdotes persanes qui forment le second chapitre représentent, au moins en grande partie, la tradition orale du temps de l'auteur.[1]

J̌uḥā.

J̌uḥā est le héros d'un grand nombre d'anecdotes populaires, répandues par tout l'Orient musulman, et dont quelques-unes ont pénétré même en Italie et dans les Balkans. La plupart des plaisanteries que les Arabes attribuent à J̌uḥā sont attribuées par les Turcs à Naṣr-ud-dīn Xōǰä, personnage prétendu historique, bouffon de Tīmūr-i-läng. M. Basset a démontré[2] que le texte arabe des *Nawādir* de J̌uḥā, publié plusieurs fois en Egypte et à Beyrouth, n'est qu'une traduction du livre turc des plaisanteries de Naṣr-ud-dīn, et que, néanmoins, J̌uḥā est un personnage littéraire bien plus ancien que Naṣr-ud-din, le كتاب نوادر جحا étant mentionné déjà dans le *Fihrist* de Muḥammäd ibn Isḥāq en-Nädīm (m. en 995 de notre ère). Il serait donc important pour l'étude de la littérature populaire des peuples islamiques de rassembler toutes les anecdotes relatives à J̌uḥā qu'on pourrait trouver dans des livres composés avant l'époque à laquelle la légende a placé Naṣr-ud-dīn, c'est-à-dire avant le commencement du 15e siècle.

[1] Quant à la traduction des anecdotes arabes, je dois bien des remercîments à M. le professeur J. Østrup pour l'assistance qu'il m'a prêtée.

[2] Préface des ‚Fourberies de Si Djeh'a', trad. p. A. Mouliéras, Paris 1892.

Les plus anciens auteurs qui nous ont laissé des anecdotes sur Ǧuḥā sont Ibrāhīm el-Baïhaqī (auteur du Kitāb el-Maḥāsin, 10e siècle de notre ère; une anecdote sur Juḥā, voir Fr. Schwally, ZDMG, t. 56, p. 238), et El-Maïdānī (m. en 1124 de notre ère). Les trois contes de Ǧuḥā qu'a donnés ce dernier ont été communiqués par Martin Hartmann dans un article ‚Schwänke und Schnurren im islamischen Orient' (Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, V, p. 50). Dans un article ‚Júḥí in the Persian Literature' (A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Prof. E. G. Browne, 1922, p. 129 sqq.), j'ai rassemblé neuf anecdotes persanes de Ǧuḥā, dont quatre sont antérieures au héros historique ou légendaire du livre populaire turc, à savoir une à laquelle fait allusion le poète Änvärī (m. environ en 1190) et trois qui sont racontées dans le Mäṯnävī de Ǧäläl-ud-dīn-i-Rūmī (m. en 1273), qui, à cause du mètre, a altéré le nom Ǧuḥā en Ǧūḥī. Parmi les sept anecdotes, antérieures de plusieurs siècles au sottisier de Naṣr-ud-dīn, deux seulement — une donnée par El-Maïdānī et une racontée par Rūmī — se retrouvent dans le sottisier et les Nawādir, ce qui me fait croire que le sottisier, qui est la source principale des Nawādir, n'est pas une traduction de l'ancien livre mentionné dans le Fihrist, mais une collection indépendante, dans laquelle ont été incorporées, probablement, un grand nombre des anecdotes de ce livre ancien.

Ce n'est qu'aprés avoir écrit mon article susnommé, que j'ai trouvé une série d'histoires relatives à Ǧuḥā dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, ouvrage également antérieur d'un ou de deux siècles à la première rédaction du sottisier turc. De ces historiettes, deux ont été traduites par M. Browne dans son ‚History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion'.

Il s'agit de dix anecdotes, dont cinq se retrouvent dans le sottisier ou les Nawādir.

Chap. I. nº 10. Ǧuḥā oublie de dire *in-šā-llah* (‚s'il plaît à Dieu'). L'anecdote a été traduite par M. Browne (l. c., p. 254). Wesselski, Der Hodscha Nasreddin, nº 160.

II. 14. Ǧuḥā vola le mouton d'un autre et en distribua la viande en aumône. On lui demanda : ‚Quelle est la raison de cela?'

Il répondit : ‚Le mérite de l'aumône et le crime du vol se balancent, et en outre il y a la graisse et la panne de la queue qui forment un surplus pour moi.'

II. 20. Le jeune J̌uḥā apprenti tailleur mange le miel de son patron. Anecdote traduite par M. Browne (l. c., p. 255). A comparer : Arthur Christensen, Contes persans en langue populaire, nº 46.

II. 21. Le père de J̌uḥā donna à celui-ci deux poissons et lui dit d'aller les vendre. J̌uḥā en allant dans les rues avec les poissons arriva à la porte d'une maison. Une jolie femme l'aperçut et lui dit : ‚Donne-moi un poisson, alors je coucherai avec toi.' J̌uḥā lui donna le poisson et coucha avec elle, ce qu'il trouva très agréable. Il donna l'autre poisson et coucha avec elle une seconde fois. Puis il s'assit près de la porte de la maison et demanda un peu d'eau. La femme lui tendit une cruche, et après avoir bu il jeta à terre la cruche, qui se brisa. A ce moment il vit de loin le mari de la femme, qui arrivait, et il commença de pleurer. Le mari lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi pleures-tu?' Il dit : ‚Comme j'avais soif, je demandai de l'eau dans cette maison, mais la cruche glissa de mes mains et se brisa. J'avais deux poissons, et la maîtresse de la maison me les a pris comme gage de la cruche, et maintenant je n'ose retourner à la maison de peur de mon père.' Le mari gronda sa femme en disant : ‚La cruche n'a pas de valeur.' Il prit les deux poissons et les redonna à J̌uḥā, qui s'en alla content.

Version tunisienne, où la fourberie est attribuée à Abū Nuwās : Stumme, Tunisische Märchen, II, p. 121 sq.; à comparer Hartmann, Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, V, p. 61.

II. 33 et 154[1]. On avait volé la porte de la maison de J̌uḥā. Celui-ci alla enlever celle d'une mosquée et la porta à sa maison. On lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi as-tu enlevé la porte de la mosquée?' Il dit : ‚On avait volé la porte de ma maison. Le possesseur de la porte de la mosquée (c.-à-d. Dieu) qui connaît le voleur, le remettra en mes mains pour ravoir sa propre porte.'

[1] Les deux nºˢ sont identiques.

II. 55. Le père de J̌uḥā apporta trois poissons cuits à la maison. J̌uḥā n'y était pas. La mère dit : ‚Mangeons ces poissons-ci avant que J̌uḥā n'arrive.‘ Ils mirent la table. J̌uḥā arriva et frappa à la porte. La mère cacha les deux gros poissons sous le sopha et lui présenta le troisième, qui était petit. Mais J̌uḥā avait vu tout par une fente de la porte. Comme ils étaient assis à table, le père demanda à J̌uḥā : ‚As-tu entendu l'histoire du prophète Jonas?‘ Il dit : ‚Je vais demander à ce poisson, qu'il me la dise.‘ Il se courba sur le poisson et mit l'oreille à la bouche de celui-ci, puis il dit : Ce poisson dit : ‚Moi, j'étais petit à cette époque-là, mais il y a deux autres poissons plus grands que moi qui sont sous le sopha. Demande-leur, qu'ils te racontent l'histoire.‘

Wesselski, nº 158.

II. 76. J̌uḥā vint à un village. Il avait faim. En passant devant une maison, il entendit les voix de quelques personnes qui pleuraient un mort. Il y entra et dit : ‚Remerciez Dieu, car je ferai revivre ce mort.‘ La famille du mort le régala de leur mieux. Quand il eut mangé son soûl, il dit : ‚Menez-moi au lit du mort.‘ Il y alla et vit le mort. Il demanda : ‚Quel était le métier de cet homme?‘ Ils répondirent : ‚Il était tisserand.‘ J̌uḥā mit le doigt sur ses lèvres et dit : ‚Hélas! tout autre homme je l'aurais fait revivre sur le champ, mais quand un malheureux tisserand est mort, il est bien mort.‘

Wesselski, nº 155.

II. 216. Une année que la cherté régnait, J̌uḥā arriva à un village et entendit dire que le chef du village était malade. Il y alla et dit : ‚Je suis médecin.‘ On l'amena en présence du chef. Il se trouva qu'on cuisait du pain dans la maison. J̌uḥā dit : ‚Voilà comment il faut préparer la médecine : apportez-moi un män d'huile et un män de miel.‘ On les lui apporta. J̌uḥā versa les ingrédiens dans un plat et y mit quelques morceaux de pain chaud, puis il prit ces morceaux un à un, les retourna dans l'air autour de la tête du malade, après quoi il les mit dans sa propre bouche, jusqu'à ce qu'il les eût avalés tous. Alors il dit : ‚Pour aujourd'hui la cure est finie‘. Le lendemain, quand il sortit de la maison, le chef mourut

au même instant. On lui demanda : ,Qu'est-ce que ce traitement que tu lui as appliqué?' Il répondit : ,Taisez-vous donc, car si je n'avais pas eu ce repas hier soir, je serais mort avant lui.'

Wesselski, nº 154.

II. 217. La mère de Ǧuḥā mourut. La femme qui lavait le cadavre, ayant fini sa besogne, dit : ,Ta mère était une femme destinée au paradis : tandis que je la lavais, elle riait.' Il répondit : ,Elle aura ri de ton... et du sien propre. Autrement quelle raison aurait-elle de rire à l'endroit où elle se trouve maintenant?'

II. 239. Le père de Ǧuḥā avait une esclave avec laquelle il couchait quelquefois. Une nuit, Ǧuḥā se glissa dans le lit de celle-ci et la prit dans ses bras. Elle demanda : ,Qui es-tu?' Il répondit : ,Je suis mon père.'

Wesselski, nº 333.

De nos jours, Ǧuḥā est bien moins connu en Perse qu'il ne l'est chez les Arabes. Le fait que le nom de جوحى a été altére en جوجى dans les quelques anecdotes persanes relatives à ce personnage qui sont conservées dans des collections modernes[1], prouve que ce nom a été transmis seulement par voie littéraire et ne vit plus sur la bouche du peuple. Voilà ce qui explique que l'auteur des *Laṭāif u Ẓarāif*, bien qu'il ait conservé le nom de Ǧuḥā (جوجى) dans trois historiettes dont je ne connais pas la source[2], a supprimé le nom dans toutes les anecdotes tirées de la Risālä-i-dilgušā pour y substituer ,un personnage' ou ,un homme' anonyme. Mais au 13e et 14e siècles Ǧuḥā était encore une figure assez populaire en Perse; aussi serait-on porté à croire qu'un certain nombre d'anecdotes qu'on trouve dans les collections modernes arabes et turques des facéties de Ǧuḥā-Naṣr-ud-dīn, et qui existent déjà dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā sans y être attribuées à Ǧuḥā[3], n'appartiennent pas à l'ancienne collection mentionnée dans le Fihrist, car si Ǧuḥā avait été, au temps

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[1] Voir l'article ,Ǧúḥí in the Persian Literature', p. 134 sqq.

[2] Ibid., nos 5, 7 et 8.

[3] Paul Horn est le premier qui ait attiré l'attention sur ces anecdotes de la Risālä (Keleti Szemle, I, p. 69 sqq.).

de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, le héros de ces contes, pourquoi aurait-il supprimé, dans quelques historiettes, ce nom, qu'il a conservé dans d'autres? L'argument n'est pas, cependant, d'une validité absolue. En tout cas il y a eu des contes dont le héros était, aux 13e et 14e siècles, tantôt une personne anonyme, tantôt J̌uḥā, tantôt, peut-être, Ṭalḥak ou un autre farceur populaire. L'histoire de l'homme et de son fils qui rencontrent un cortège funèbre, histoire donnée dans le Mäṯnävī de Rūmī[1], où le fils est le jeune J̌uḥā, est racontée par ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī (chap. II, nº 238) comme étant d'un derviche anonyme et de son fils, et l'anecdote nº 274 du second chapitre de la collection de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, où il s'agit de deux amants anonymes, est une variation d'un conte de J̌uḥā raconté également dans le Mäṯnävī. Comme je n'ai donné, dans mon article susnommé, que le texte persan de ce conte tiré du Mäṯnävī, je présente ici, au profit des folkloristes, la traduction de l'anecdote dans la version de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī :

II. 274. Une femme était assise, dans une assemblée religieuse, à côté de son amant. Le prédicateur décrivait l'aile de l'archange Gabriel. Sur ces entrefaites, la femme jeta le pan de son voile sur les genoux de son amant, et là-dessous elle avança la main vers le ventre de celui-ci. Soudain elle poussa un cri. Cela plût au prédicateur, qui dit : ‚O toi qui aime Dieu d'un amour sincère! l'aile de Gabriel a-t-elle touché ton âme ou ton cœur, de sorte qu'un tel soupir amoureux se soit échappé de ton intérieur?' Elle répondit : ‚Que l'aile de Gabriel ait touché mon cœur ou mon âme, je n'en sais rien, mais la trompette de l'ange d'Isrāfīl[2] est tombé subitement dans ma main, et c'est pour cela que ce soupir m'a échappé involontairement.'

J'ajoute la traduction des anecdotes de la Risālä qui se retrouvent dans le sottisier de Naṣr-ud-dīn et dans les Nawādir, mais qui, chez ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, ne sont pas attribuées à J̌uḥā. Quelques-

[1] ‚J̌úḥí in the Persian Literature', p. 131 sq.
[2] La trompette qui sonnera au jour du jugement dernier.

unes en sont indiquées, mais non pas traduites dans l'article de Paul Horn[1].

I. 27. Un cadi dit : ‚O hommes, faites des remercîments à Allāh.' On fit des remercîments, puis on demanda pourquoi. Il dit : ‚Il faut remercier Allāh, que les anges n'ont pas besoin de se soulager le ventre, car autrement ils feraient tomber leurs excréments sur nous et souilleraient nos vêtements.'

Versions diverses de ce thème, Wesselski, n°s 2, 243, 244, 272.

I. 37. Un homme regarda dans un puits et y vit son visage reflété. Il retourna à sa mère et dit : ‚Il y a un voleur dans le puits.' La mère y alla et regarda : ‚Oui, par Dieu!' dit-elle, ‚et il a avec lui une femme de mauvaises mœurs'.

Wesselski, nº 311. L'anecdote se trouve dans la même forme chez Bar-Hebræus (Laughable Stories, by Wallis Budge, nº 83). Arth. Christensen, Les sots dans la tradition populaire des Persans, Acta Orient., I, p. 53 sqq.

I. 68. Un homme vola un vêtement et le porta au bazar pour le vendre. Là on le lui vola. Lorsqu'il fut de retour, on lui demanda : ‚Pour combien l'as-tu vendu?' Il répondit : ‚Pour le capital engagé.'

Wesselski, nº 491.

II. 31. Voir ‚Les sots dans la trad. pop. des Persans', nº 13.

II. 43. Un homme dit à son ami : ‚J'ai mal aux yeux, quel remède y a-t-il contre cela?' L'ami dit : ‚L'année passée j'avais mal aux dents; j'ai fait arracher la dent.'

Wesselski, nº 136.

II. 46. Voir ‚Les sots', nº 15. Wesselski, nº 100.

II. 56. Buχārī se maria. Après trois mois sa femme mit au monde un garçon. On demanda au père : ‚Quel nom donnerons-nous à ce garçon?' Il répondit : ‚Comme il a fait en trois mois un voyage de neuf mois, il faut lui donner le nom de „l'estafette".'

Nawādir, éd. de Beyrouth, nº 140.

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[1] Keleti Szemle, I, p. 69—70.

II. 74. Un homme prétendait être prophète. On l'amena devant le calife Ma'mūn, qui dit : ‚Cet homme-ci a eu le cerveau desséché par la faim.' Il appela le cuisinier et lui ordonna de mener l'homme dans la cuisine, de lui donner de la literie molle et de lui donner tous les jours des boissons parfumées et des mets délicieux, afin que son cerveau fût calmé. L'homme demeura quelque temps dans la cuisine dans cet état de bien-être, et son cerveau fut calmé. Un jour Ma'mūn se souvint de lui et ordonna de le faire venir. ‚L'archange Gabriel est-il venu de nouveau te voir?' demanda-t-il. ‚Oui,' répondit l'homme. ‚Qu'a-t-il dit?' Il a dit : ‚Tu es tombé dans un lieu agréable. Jamais prophète n'a obtenu un tel bonheur et une telle vie paisible. Prends garde de ne jamais quitter ce lieu-ci!'

Wesselski, n° 187.

II. 75. Voir ‚Les sots', n° 12. Wesselski, n° 495. A comparer Hartmann, Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, V, p. 52.

II. 86. Mäwlānā Šäräf-ud-dīn Dāmġānī passait devant la porte d'une mosquée. Le fonctionnaire de la mosquée, dans l'intérieur de la mosquée, tira un chien à lui et le battit. Le chien hurla. Mäwlānā ouvrit la porte, et le chien s'enfuit. Le fonctionnaire fit des reproches à Mäwlānā, qui dit : ‚Mon ami, passe là-dessus : le chien n'a pas de raison, c'est pour cela qu'il est entré dans la mosquée; nous autres êtres raisonnables, tu ne nous y vois jamais.'

Nawādir, éd. du Caire, p. 28. L'anecdote se retrouve dans la collection ‚Riyāż-ul-ḥikāyāt', XV, 3.

II. 101. Un Khorassanien alla avec une échelle dans le jardin d'un autre homme pour voler des fruits. Le maître du jardin survint et lui demanda : ‚Qu'as-tu à faire dans mon jardin?' Il dit : ‚Je viens pour vendre mon échelle.' Le maître du jardin dit : ‚Comment? vendre une échelle dans mon jardin?' ‚L'échelle est à moi,' fit l'autre, ‚je la vends où il me plaît'.

Wesselski, n° 18. — Riyāż-ul-ḥikāyāt VIII. 32.

II. 102. Un Qazvīnien avait une hache, qu'il déposait tous les soirs dans son magasin, après quoi il fermait la porte solidement.

Sa femme lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi est-ce que tu déposes la hache dans le magasin?‘ Il répondit : ‚Afin que le chat ne la vole pas.‘ ‚Mais,‘ dit la femme, ‚le chat, qu'a-t-il à faire avec la hache?‘ ‚Tu es une sotte femme‘ fit-il, ‚s'il vole un morceau de poumon qui ne vaut pas un denier, crois-tu qu'il laissera une hache que j'ai achetée pour dix dinars?‘

Wesselski, n° 87.

II. 108. Voir ‚Les sots‘, n° 17 A. Wesselski, n° 419 (appartenant au type 17 B.).

II. 117. Un homme alla dans son jardin et y vit un voleur qui avait mis en paquet quelques oignons. Il dit : ‚Qu'as-tu à faire dans ce jardin?‘ ‚Je venais à passer au-dehors,‘ dit le voleur, ‚quand tout-à-coup le vent me jeta dans le jardin.‘ L'autre demanda : ‚Pourquoi, alors, as-tu tiré les oignons?‘ ‚Le vent m'emportait, et je me suis cramponné aux oignons, qui furent arrachés de la terre.‘ ‚Eh bien! mais pourquoi les as-tu mis en paquet et chargés sur le dos?‘ ‚Oui, par Dieu, c'est justement cela que je me demandais à moi-même, lorsque tu survins.‘

Wesselski, n° 7. — Riyāż-ul-ḥikāyāt, VIII. 30.

II. 118. Voir ‚Les sots‘, n° 14 A. Wesselski, n° 184.

II. 124. Une femme avait été présente à une assemblée religieuse. De retour à la maison elle dit à son mari : ‚Le prédicateur a dit que celui qui, cette nuit, couche avec sa femme légitime, pour lui on préparera une maison au paradis.‘ Lorsqu'ils s'étaient couchés, la femme dit : ‚Viens, si tu désires une maison au paradis.‘ Le mari coucha une fois avec sa femme. Quelque temps après, la femme dit : ‚Tu as préparé une maison pour toi; prépares-en une aussi pour moi.‘ Le mari le fit. Un moment après, la femme dit : ‚S'il vient des hôtes dans notre maison, que ferons-nous?‘ L'homme prépara une maison pour les hôtes. A l'aube du jour, l'homme prit sa femme au dépourvu et s'approcha d'elle d'une autre manière en disant : ‚Celui qui a trois maisons au paradis, doit en avoir une aussi à l'enfer.‘

Wesselski, n° 116; même motif, mais la pointe est différente.

II. 134. Un homme prétendait être prophète. On l'amena devant le calife, qui lui demanda : ‚Quel miracle sais-tu faire?' Il répondit : ‚Mon miracle est celui-ci : tout ce que tu penses dans ton cœur, je le sais; pour le moment, par exemple, tu penses que je suis un menteur.'

Nawādir, éd. de Beyrouth, n° 138; Qalyūbī, trad. de Rescher, n° 208.

II. 159. Un plaisant voyant une poule rôtie qui revenait trois jours de suite sur la table d'un avare, sans qu'il la mangeât, dit : ‚Cette poule a une plus longue vie après la mort qu'avant.'

Wesselski, n° 360.

II. 162. Il y avait inimitié entre le chef et le Xaṭīb d'un village. Le chef mourut. Lorsqu'on le porta en terre, on dit au Xaṭīb : ‚Dis l'oraison funèbre sur lui.' Il répondit : ‚Demandez cela à un autre, car il se mettrait en colère en entendant mon discours.'

Wesselski, n° 106.

II. 198. On avait volé, dans la mosquée, les souliers de Ṭalḥak[1], et on les avait jetés dans le vestibule d'une église. Ṭalḥak dit : ‚Louanges à Dieu! moi je suis musulman, et mes souliers sont chrétiens.'

Basset, Préface du livre de Mouliéras : Les fourberies de Si Djeh'a, p. 70, n° 2.

II. 211. Un Qazvīnien qui était à l'article de la mort fit l'acte de dernière volonté en disant, qu'on devait aller dans la ville chercher quelques pièces de vieux linge et en faire un linceul pour lui. On lui en demanda la raison. Il dit : ‚C'est afin que Munkar et Nakīr[2] en arrivant croient que je suis un ancien cadavre et me laissent en paix.'

Wesselski, n° 22.

II. 237. Un homme voulait emprunter un cheval à son ami. Celui-ci dit : ‚J'ai un cheval, il est vrai, mais c'est un cheval noir.' L'autre dit : ‚Est-ce qu'on ne peut pas monter un cheval noir?'

[1] Sur ce personnage, voir ci-dessous.

[2] Les deux anges qui interrogent le mort sur ses actions.

L'ami dit : ‚Lorsque je ne veux pas prêter mon cheval, ce prétexte-là suffit, je pense.'

A comparer Wesselski, nº 42.

II. 251. Un Qazvīnien était debout au bord d'une rivière en tenant à la main une corde pleine de nœuds. Il plongeait plusieurs fois dans l'eau et chaque fois qu'il en sortait, il dénouait un des nœuds, puis replongeait dans l'eau. On lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi agis-tu comme cela?' Il répondit : ‚En hiver j'ai marqué par des nœuds les ablutions nécessaires par suite des pollutions, et l'été je les exécute.'

Basset, l. c., p. 70, nº 6.

II. 260. On avait recommandé à un malade du vinaigre de quarante ans. Il en demanda à un ami. Celui-ci dit : ‚J'en ai, mais je ne le donnerai pas.' ‚Pourquoi?' ‚Si j'avais donné à quelqu'un mon vinaigre dès le premier an, il aurait été fini et n'aurait pas atteint la quarantième année.'

Tewfik, Die Schwänke des Nassr-ed-din, nº 16.

II. 275. Un paysan avait une vache et une ânesse avec un ânon. L'ânesse mourut, et on donna le lait de la vache à l'ânon. Le paysan et sa famille n'avait pas d'autre lait. Le paysan affligé dit : ‚O Dieu, fais mourir cet ânon, afin que ma famille ait le lait de la vache à boire.' Le jour suivant, le paysan, en entrant dans l'étable, vit la vache morte. Le pauvre homme, tout désespéré, dit : ‚O Dieu, c'est de l'ânon que je parlais! Ne sais-tu pas distinguer une vache d'un ânon?'

A comparer : Nawādir, éd. de Beyrouth, nº 142.

II. 277. Un derviche arriva à la porte d'un village et y vit une assemblée des anciens du village. Il dit : ‚Donnez-moi quelque chose, sinon je jure par Dieu que je traiterai ce village de la même façon que j'ai traité tel autre village.' Les hommes eurent peur et se dirent : ‚Il est à craindre, qu'il ne soit un sorcier ou un saint et qu'il ne détruise notre village.' Ils lui donnèrent donc ce qu'il demandait. Après cela ils lui demandèrent : ‚Qu'est-ce que tu as fait de l'autre village dont tu parlais?' Le derviche répondit : ‚J'ai demandé l'aumône là, et on ne m'a rien donné, puis je m'en suis allé

et je suis arrivé ici. Si vous ne m'aviez rien donné non plus, j'aurais quitté ce village de même pour m'en aller à un autre.'

Wesselski, nº 450; la pointe un peu différente.

Autres représentants du type du farceur ou du ,fou sage'.

Deux plaisants bien connus du temps de Hārūn er-Rāšīd figurent dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā : Bählūl, fou du calife, et Abū Nuwās, le célèbre poète.

II. 224. Hārūn dit à Bählūl : ,Qui est parmi les hommes celui que tu aimes le plus?' Il répondit : ,Celui qui me rassasie.' Le calife dit : ,Moi je te rassasie, alors est-ce que tu m'aimes, oui ou non?' ,L'amitié à crédit n'existe pas,' répondit Bählūl.

I. 49. On vit Abū Nuwās qui avait en main une coupe de vin; à sa droite il avait une grappe de raisins frais et à sa gauche une écuelle pleine de raisins secs, et chaque fois qu'il prenait une gorgée de vin, il mangeait un raisin frais et un raisin sec. On lui demanda : ,Qu'est-ce que c'est?' Il répondit : ,C'est le Père, le Fils et le Saint-Esprit.'[1]

Sur Abū Nuwās encore : I. 48; II. 228.

Mais le personnage le plus souvent mentionné dans les contes persans de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī est Ṭalḥak, qui semble avoir joué le rôle de favori ou de fou auprès du sultan Maḥmūd le Ghaznavide. Il y a, tout compté, 21 historiettes qui contiennent des traits d'esprit de Ṭalḥak. J'en donne quelques spécimens :

II. 11. On envoya Ṭalḥak au roi du Kharezm dans une affaire importante. Il y demeura quelque temps, mais le roi du Kharezm ne lui rendait pas tant d'honneur qu'il le désirait. Un jour on racontait devant le roi des histoires sur les oiseaux et sur les qualités spéciales de chaque espèce d'entre eux. Ṭalḥak dit : ,Aucun oiseau n'est aussi intelligent que la cigogne.' ,D'où le sais-tu?' demanda-t-on. ,Parce qu'elle ne vient jamais au Kharezm,' répondit Ṭalḥak.

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[1] Le raisin frais est le père du raisin sec, et le vin est Spiritus Sanctus.

II. 48. Un jour le sultan Maḥmūd était en colère. Ṭalḥak, voulant le tirer de son état de mauvaise humeur, dit : ‚O sultan, quel était le nom de ton père?‘ Le sultan se fâcha encore plus et fronça les sourcils. Ṭalḥak s'avança de nouveau et répéta la question. ‚Chien de cocu!‘ s'écria le sultan, ‚de quoi te mêles-tu?‘ Ṭalḥak répondit : ‚Bien, tu as nommé là le nom de ton père. Mais quel est le nom de ton grand-père?‘ Le sultan se mit à rire.

II. 160. Ṭalḥak dit : ‚J'ai eu un songe dont la moitié était vraie et l'autre moitié fausse.‘ ‚Comment cela?‘ demanda-t-on. Il répondit : ‚J'ai rêvé que je portais sur le dos un trésor qui était tellement lourd que je m'embrenais par suite de l'effort. M'étant éveillé, j'ai trouvé le lit souillé, mais du trésor il n'y avait pas trace.‘

II. 161. La femme de Ṭalḥak avait mis au monde un enfant. Le sultan Maḥmūd lui demanda : ‚Qu'est-ce qui est né de ta femme?‘ Il répondit : ‚Qu'est-ce qui peut naître des gens pauvres? un fils ou bien une fille.‘ ‚Et qu'est-ce qui naît des grands?‘ demanda le sultan. ‚O maître,‘ fit-il, ‚il en naît des personnes dépravées et des dissipateurs.‘

II. 166. On demanda à Ṭalḥak : ‚Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un cocu?‘ ‚Cette question, il faut la poser aux cadis,‘ répondit-il.

II. 173. On avait volé le mulet de Ṭalḥak. Quelqu'un dit : ‚C'est ta faute à toi, parce que tu as été négligent et n'as pas fait bonne garde.‘ Un autre dit : ‚C'est la faute du valet d'écurie, qui a laissé ouverte la porte de l'écurie.‘ ‚Alors,‘ dit Ṭalḥak, ‚le voleur est sans faute.‘

II. 184. Le sultan Maḥmūd ayant couché sa tête sur les genoux de Ṭalḥak, lui demanda : ‚Quel rapport as-tu avec les cocus?‘ Il répondit : ‚Je leur sers d'oreiller.‘

II. 190. Pendant un hiver très froid, le sultan Maḥmūd dit à Ṭalḥak : ‚Comment peux-tu supporter un tel froid, ne portant qu'un seul habit, tandis que moi je tremble de froid malgré tous les vêtements que je porte?‘ Ṭalḥak répondit : ‚O roi, si tu faisais comme moi, tu ne tremblerais pas.‘ ‚Et qu'est ce que tu fais, toi?‘ demanda le sultan. ‚Je porte sur moi tout ce que je possède de vêtements.‘

II. 198. Voir ci-dessus, p. 16.

II. 213. A l'occasion de la fête du jour de l'an, le sultan Maḥmūd avait donné une robe d'honneur à chacun des hommes de cour, mais quant à Ṭalḥak, il ordonna qu'on apportât un bât d'âne et le lui donnât; et cela fut fait. Lorsque les hommes se furent habillés de leurs robes d'honneur, Ṭalḥak prit son bât d'âne sur le dos et alla ainsi à l'assemblée du sultan. ‚Vous autres grands seigneurs,' dit-il, ‚regardez la faveur que le sultan a daigné me faire à moi, son humble serviteur : à vous autres il a donné des robes d'honneur qu'il a tirées de son trésor, mais à moi il a donné un habit qu'il a ôté de son propre corps.'

II. 236. Quelqu'un demanda à Ṭalḥak : ‚Comment est-ce qu'on prépare de la cigogne rôtie?' Il répondit : ‚Attrape la cigogne d'abord.'

Sur Ṭalḥak encore : II. 1; 17; 171; 175; 177; 200; 212; 227; 234; 255.

Deux historiettes se rattachent au nom d'un certain Pählävān ʿAuż qui aurait été au service de Šäms-ud-dīn Muḥammäd-i-J̌uvaïnī, surnommé Ṣāḥibdīvān (voir p. 6).

II. 252. Le Xōǰä Šäms-ud-dīn Ṣāḥibdīvān, en envoyant le Pählävān ʿAuż au Luristān lui ordonna d'amener en retournant quelques lévriers. Le Pählävān s'en alla, mais il oublia les lévriers. De retour à Tabriz il s'en souvint et fit prendre quelques-uns des chiens qui rôdaient dans le bazar.. Il les amena au Xōǰä. Le Xōǰä dit : ‚J'avais commandé des lévriers.' ‚Quelle espèce de chiens sont les lévriers?' demanda le Pählävān. ‚Les lévriers,' dit le Xōǰä, ‚ont de longues oreilles, une queue mince et le ventre maigre.' Le Pählävān dit : ‚Je ne m'entends pas à la queue et aux oreilles, mais si ces chiens-ci restent cinq jours dans la maison de votre seigneurie, la faim leur rendra le ventre tellement maigre qu'ils pourront sauter au travers d'un anneau.'

II. 253. Le Ṣāḥibdīvān dit au Pählävān ʿAuż : ‚Va chercher un homme doué d'intelligence que je puisse charger d'une commission.' Le Pählävān dit : ‚O Xōǰä, tous ceux qui sont doués d'intelligence ont quitté cette maison.'

Il y a encore quelques personnages du même type, sur lesquels je n'ai pu trouver de renseignements.

I. 18. La femme de Mäzyäd était enceinte. Elle regarda le visage de son mari et dit : ‚Malheur à moi, si celui que je porte dans mon sein doit te ressembler!' Mäzyäd dit : ‚Malheur à moi, s'il ne me ressemble pas!'

Bar Hebraeus, Laughable Stories, ed. Wallis Budge, nº 507.

II. 192. Une fois on arrêta Mäzyäd qu'on soupçonnait d'avoir bu du vin. On flaira, mais ne put sentir l'odeur du vin de sa bouche. Puis on dit : ‚Faites-le vomir.' ‚Mais alors,' fit-il, ‚qui est-ce qui me garantira mon souper?'

Sur Mäzyäd encore : I. 71; II. 193.

II. 230. Anecdote relative à Bāmšīd (?) de Chiraz, traduite par Horn (Keleti Szemle, I, p. 70).

II. 13. Abū Bäkr le joueur de rebec exerçait généralement, la nuit, le métier de voleur. Une nuit il sortit comme d'ordinaire, mais malgré tous ses efforts, il ne trouva rien. Alors il vola son propre turban et le cacha sous l'aisselle. Lorsqu'il revint, sa femme lui demanda : ‚Qu'est-ce que tu rapportes?' Il répondit : ‚Je rapporte ce turban-ci.' ‚Mais c'est ton propre turban!' ‚Tais-toi,' fit-il, ‚ne comprends-tu pas que je l'ai volé pour ne pas perdre la pratique.'

II. 81. Un voleur se glissa dans la maison d'Abū Bäkr le joueur de rebec. Tant qu'il chercha il ne trouva rien. Quand il voulut sortir, Abū Bäkr se mit à rire et lâcha un vent. Le voleur dit : ‚Tu peux bien rire, ô homme, toi qui possèdes une belle maison riche comme ça!'

II. 231. Pendant un hiver froid, Abū Bäkr le joueur de rebec invita Xarmaġzī le joueur de luth à sa maison. La nuit, quand ils s'étaient couchés, Xarmaġzī, ne pouvant pas dormir à cause du froid, dit : ‚Xōjä Abū Bäkr, jette quelque chose sur moi.' Il y avait dans la maison un bout de natte; Abū Bäkr le jeta sur lui. Un peu après, Xarmaġzī dit : ‚Jette encore quelque chose sur moi.' Il y avait dans la maison une échelle; Abū Bäkr la plaça sur lui. Un moment après, Xarmaġzī dit : ‚Donne-moi quelque chose encore pour me couvrir.'

Par hazard, un voisin, ayant lavé son linge dans la maison d'Abū Bäkr, avait laissé là une écuelle pleine d'eau. Abū Bäkr la plaça au-dessus de l'échelle. Xarmaġzī ayant fait un mouvement, une partie de l'eau sortit de l'écuelle et coula à travers les trous de la natte. Il cria : ,Xōjä Abū Bäkr, aie la bonté d'ôter le lit de dessus, car je transpire affreusement!'

Sur Abū Bäkr encore : II. 36.

Anecdotes relatives à Buχārī (le célèbre traditionniste du 9e siècle de notre ère?) : II. 56 (voir p. 13) et 128; à Abū-l-ʿAina, poète et littérateur arabe du 9e siècle de notre ère : I. 9; 58; 61.

Personnages religieux et littéraires de 13e et 14e siècles.

Une série d'anecdotes du chapitre II se groupent autour des hommes de lettres, des savants et des théologiens du temps de l'auteur ou du siècle précédent. Bien que le caractère de guide spirituel de la plupart de ces personnages soit marqué par les titres de Mäwlānā ou de Šaiχ, les plaisanteries qui leur sont attribuées ressemblent beaucoup à celles de J̌uḥā, de Ṭalḥak etc., et font témoignage, souvent, de mœurs singulièrement dépravées. Mais il va sans dire qu'on ne doit pas y chercher la vérité historique sur les hommes en question.

Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn-i-Šīrāzī, Mäwlānā Mäǰd-ud-dīn, Mäwlānā Šäms-ud-dīn-i-ʿAmīdī et Mäwlānā Saʿd-ud-dīn-i-Kirmānī appartiennent à la même époque, à savoir au 13e siècle de notre ère. Le premier est probablement identique à Quṭb-ud-dīn-i-Šīrāzī, professeur au Collège du Pärvānä à Césarée, contemporain de J̌äläl-ud-dīn-i-Rūmī et mentionné par Äflākī,[1] et à Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn Masʿūd-i-Šīrāzī, à qui le ministre et historien célèbre Rāšīd-ud-dīn Fäḍl-ullāh à écrit une lettre sur son voyage aux Indes.[2] Un Mäwlānā Mäǰd-ud-dīn Ismaʿīl Fālī figure également parmi ceux qui ont reçu des lettres de Räšīd-ud-dīn.[3]

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[1] Huart, Les saints des derviches tourneurs, I, p. 135, 331, II, p. 283, 284, 312.

[2] Browne, A Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, p. 83.

[3] Browne, l. c. p. 82.

II. 24. Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn et le cheikh Sa'dī, voir ci-dessus, p. 4.

II. 80. Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn-i-Šīrāzī, étant tombé malade, prit un purgatif. Mäwlānā Šäms-ud-dīn-i-'Amīdī vint lui faire visite et dit: ‚J'avais entendu dire que tu avais pris un purgatif hier. Depuis hier j'ai fait des prières pour toi.' Le malade dit: ‚Oui, depuis hier il y a eu des prières de ta part et de l'exaucement[1] pour moi.'

II. 105. Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn alla faire visite à un grand seigneur malade. ‚Qu'as-tu donc?' demanda-t-il. ‚J'avais attrapé une fièvre,' dit le malade ‚et j'ai mal au cou. Grâce à Dieu la fièvre a été rompue il y a un ou deux jours, mais mon cou me fait mal encore.' Mäwlānā dit: ‚Sois tranquille, il sera rompu de même, sans doute, dans un ou deux jours.'

II. 207. Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn était couché avec un homme dans une des cellules du collège. Tout-à-coup quelqu'un ouvrit la porte de la cellule. Mäwlānā demanda: ‚Qu'est-ce que tu désires?' L'autre dit: ‚Rien. Je cherchais un endroit où je puisse faire deux prosternations en faisant mes prières.' ‚Mais voici bien l'endroit,' dit Mäwlānā: ‚ne vois-tu pas qu'à cause de l'étroitesse de l'endroit nous nous sommes prosternés l'un au-dessus de l'autre.'

Sur Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn encore: II. 18; 155; 163; 248.

II. 70. Mäǰd-ud-dīn coucha avec sa femme, qui était extrêmement vieille et laide. Elle dit: ‚O mon marí, on n'exerce pas le devoir d'époux de la façon que tu le fais. Sache que

Avant moi et toi il y avait jour et nuit.'[2]

Il répondit: ‚O femme, ne te fais pas de la peine: avant moi il y avait, avant toi non.'

II. 71. L'Atābeg Salġar Šāh[3] donna à Mäǰd-ud-dīn une pièce de mousseline égyptienne, dans laquelle étaient peints en plusieurs endroits les mots: ‚Il n'y a pas de Dieu sans Allāh.' Mais comme l'étoffe était usée, elle ne lui plût pas. Un de ceux qui étaient présents

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[1] Le mot *iǰābāt*, ‚exaucement', a aussi la signification d',évacuation'.

[2] Hémistiche d'un quatrain de 'Omar-i-Xayyām, voir. p. 2.

[3] Voir ci-dessus, p. 6.

demanda : ‚Pourquoi n'y a-t-on pas peint les mots : „et Muḥammäd est le prophète d'Allāh?"' Mäǰd-ud-dīn dit : ‚Cela fut tissé avant le temps du prophète Muḥammäd.'

Sur Mäǰd-ud-dīn en outre : II. 50 et 248. Cette dernière anecdote met Mäwlānā Mäǰd-ud-dīn en relation avec Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn.

II. 51. Mäwlānā Sa'd-ud-dīn-i-Kirmānī avait le teint très sombre. Une nuit en entrant ivre dans sa cellule, il s'adossa contre une bouteille d'encre qui était suspendue au mur et la cassa, de sorte que le dos de l'habit blanc qu'il portait fut noirci. Le matin il endossa son habit, sans s'apercevoir de la tache noire, et s'en alla à l'auditoire de Mäwlānā Quṭb-ud-dīn-i-Šīrāzī. Les disciples le regardèrent, et un d'entre eux dit : ‚Qu'est-ce que c'est que cette marque d'ignominie?' Un autre dit : ‚Ce n'est pas une marque d'ignominie, c'est la sueur de Mäwlānā.'

Deux anecdotes (II. 182 et 273) ont pour objet le poète persan Mäǰd-ud-dīn Hämgär ou Mäǰd-i-Hämgärī, qui florissait vers la fin du 13e siècle. J'en donne la dernière.

II. 273. Le Xōǰä Bähā-ud-dīn-i-Ṣāḥibdīvān[1] mit sa main au derrière de Mäǰd-i-Hämgärī, qui lacha un vent. ‚Que fais-tu là?' demanda le Xōǰä. L'autre dit : ‚O Xōǰä,

Il ne serait pas joli de laisser partir les mains vides celui qui a tendu la main.'

Un autre poète persan, qui vécut un peu plus tard, Sa'd-i-Bähā[2], contemporain d'Uljaïtū Sultān, Īl-Khān mongol régnant de 1305 à 1316, est mentionné dans l'anecdote suivante :

II. 263. Sa'd-i-Bähā n'avait jamais vu Sa'd-ud-dīn-i-Mūltānī. Un jour il le rencontra dans la rue et dit : ‚Bonjour, Sa'd-i-Mūltānī!' L'autre demanda : ‚D'où me connais-tu?' Il répondit : ‚*On connait les pécheurs à leur visage.*'[3]

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[1] Gouverneur d'Ispahan et du Fārs, fils de Šäms-ud-dīn Muḥammäd-i-J̌uvaïnī, appelé Ṣāḥibdīvān, voir p. 6.

[2] Ta'rīχ-i-guzīdä, ed. Browne, p. 828; Browne, Biographies of Persian Poets, reprinted from the JRAS. 1900—1901, p. 37.

[3] Citation en arabe.

Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn, Mäwlānā Ämīn-ud-dīn et le cheikh Šäräf-ud-dīn Därguzīnī étaient des contemporains de notre auteur. Le premier est peut-être identique à ʿAḍud-ud-dīn ʿAbd-ur-raḥmān el-Ījī, auteur de plusieurs livres philosophiques et théologiques, écrits en arabe, mort en 1355.

II. 35. Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn avait un secrétaire qui l'accompagnait à un voyage. Lorsqu'ils étaient en route, le secrétaire était resté en arrière en buvant du vin. Mäwlānā le cherchait plusieurs fois. Un instant après il arriva en courant et, étant ivre, il s'approcha de Mäwlānā. Celui-ci s'aperçut de son état et dit : ‚O ʿAlā-ud-dīn, je croyais que tu étais avec moi, mais tel que je te vois maintenant, tu n'es même pas avec toi.'

II. 42. Quelqu'un demandait à Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn : ‚Comment se fait-il qu'au temps des califes il y avait tant de personnes qui se proclamaient Dieu ou prophète, et que de notre temps il n'y en a plus?' Mäwlānā dit : ‚Les hommes de notre temps sont tellement dégénérés par suite de la tyrannie et de la faim, qu'ils ne pensent ni à leur Dieu ni au prophète.'

II. 125. Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn envoya une personne pour demander de sa part la main d'une dame. La dame dit : ‚J'ai entendu dire qu'il est un libertin et un pédéraste; je ne veux pas être sa femme.' On rapporta cette réponse à Mäwlānā, qui dit : ‚Dites à la dame qu'on peut se repentir du libertinage et que le penchant à la pédérastie dépend de la complaisance et de la douceur de la dame.'

II. 249. Quelqu'un demandait à Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn : ‚Est-ce que la glace de la contrée de Sultāniyä est la plus froide ou bien celle d'Äbhär[1]?' Il répondit : ‚Ta question est plus froide[2] que toutes les deux.'

Sur Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn encore : II. 52; 156; 187; 208 (Mäwlānā à la cour du sultan Abū Saʿīd). Dans trois anecdotes (II. 72, 204, 267), Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn se raille du cheikh Šäräf-ud-dīn Därguzīnī. Je me borne à en citer une :

[1] Deux villes à l'ouest de Qazvīn.

[2] C'est-à-dire insipide.

II. 72. Le cheikh Šäräf-ud-dīn Därguzīnī demandait à Mäwlānā ʿAḍud-ud-dīn : ‚Dans quel passage du coran Dieu le Très-Haut a-t-il mentionné les cheikhs?‘ Mäwlānā répondit : A côté des savants dans ce passage-ci : ‚*Dis : Ceux qui savent et ceux qui ne savent pas, seront-ils traités de la même manière?*‘[1]

Sur Mäwlānā Ämīn-ud-dīn et Ġiyāṯ-ud-dīn ibn Räšīd-ud-dīn, ministre d'Abū Saʿīd, tué en 1336 : II. 141 (Ämīn-ud-dīn comme pédéraste).

Confessions et nationalités.

Dans les anecdotes arabes il est question quelquefois des chrétiens, des juifs et des zoroastriens.

I. 11. Un chrétien demandait à un zoroastrien : ‚Depuis quand avez-vous cessé de coucher avec vos mères?‘[2] Le zoroastrien répondit : ‚Depuis le moment où elles se vantaient d'avoir enfanté des Dieux.‘

I. 25. On disait à un entremetteur au mois de Ramaḍān : ‚Dans ce mois-ci il n'y a pas d'affaires.‘ L'entremetteur dit : ‚Dieu conserve les juifs et les chrétiens!‘

I. 49. Raillerie sur le dogme chrétien de la Trinité, voir ci-dessus, p. 18.

Parmi les anecdotes persanes, deux (II. 82 et 88) ont pour motif la conversion de chrétiens à l'islamisme. J'en cite la dernière :

II. 88. Un joli garçon chrétien devint mahométan. Le commissaire de police (le muḥtäsib) ordonna de le circoncire. La nuit étant venu, il coucha avec lui. Le matin le père du garçon demanda à son fils : ‚Que penses-tu des mahométans?‘ Le garçon répondit : ‚Ce sont des drôles de gens : à celui qui embrasse leur religion, ils écorchent le membre le jour et déchirent le derrière la nuit.‘

Plusieurs des historiettes persanes ont trait au chiisme.

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[1] Coran, 39 v. 12.

[2] Le mariage entre de proches parents, père et fille, mère et fils, frère et sœur, était considéré par les zoroastriens de l'antiquité comme une action particulièrement méritoire.

II. 10. Traduite par Browne dans ,A Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion', p. 255, 2e alinéa.

II. 25. A Qumm on frappait un homme qui s'appelait ʿImrān (عمران). Quelqu'un dit : ,Il n'est pas ʿUmar (عمر); pourquoi le frappe-t-on donc?' ,Il est ʿUmar,' dirent les gens, ,et il porte en outre le *n* de ʿUṯmān.'

II. 66. On avait fait monter un Arabe chiite sur un bœuf et le promenait ainsi dans la ville en le frappant de fouets. Quelqu'un demanda : ,Quel crime a commis cet homme?' ,Il a prononcé des injures contre Abū Bäkr et ʿUmar,' dit-on. L'Arabe l'entendit et dit d'un ton de colère : ,*O homme, n'oublie pas ʿUṯmān!*'

Encore : II. 3 et 77.

Le çoufī, qui est caractérisé, dans le chapitre IV des ,Définitions' de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, comme ,celui qui mange gratis', est raillé également dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā.

I. 75. On disait à un çoufī : ,Vends ton froc.' Il répondit : ,Si le pêcheur vend son filet, avec quoi pêchera-t-il?'

II. 209. Un homme alla dans son jardin et y vit un çoufī et un ours. Il frappa le çoufī, mais ne fit même pas des reproches à l'ours. Le çoufī dit : ,O mahométan! après tout je ne suis pas inférieur à un ours, pour que tu me frappes et ne frappes pas l'ours.' L'autre dit : ,Le pauvre ours mange et laisse ses excréments ici, mais toi, tu manges et emportes ce que tu as mangé.'

Parmi les anecdotes de la Risālä il y en a qui caractérisent les différentes nationalités. Le Turc est brutal et porté aux violences; peu intelligent, il est souvent dupé.

II. 47. Une femme et son fils, dans le désert, tombèrent aux mains d'un Turc, qui coucha avec tous les deux, puis s'en alla. La mère demanda à son fils : ,Si tu revois ce Turc-là, est-ce que tu le reconnaîtras?' Il répondit : ,C'est toi qui l'as regardé en face, aussi le reconnaîtras-tu mieux que moi.'

II. 180. Un tailleur taillait un manteau pour un Turc. Le Turc le regardait attentivement, de sorte qu'il ne pût dérober la moindre partie de l'étoffe. Tout-à-coup le tailleur lâcha un vent. Le Turc

se mit à rire si violemment qu'il tomba à la renverse. Le tailleur profita de l'occasion. S'étant relevé, le Turc dit : ‚O maître tailleur, lâche un vent encore.' ‚Mieux vaut ne pas le faire', dit le tailleur, ‚car alors le manteau sera trop étroit'.

Encore : II. 60 et 185. Sur les Turcomans : II. 133 et 149.

L'Arabe du désert est grossier, naïf, mais d'une naïveté qui touche quelquefois à la sournoiserie.

I. 50. Un bédouin mangeait avec les cinq doigts[1]. On lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi fais-tu comme ça?' Il répondit : ‚Si je ne mange qu'avec les trois, les autres s'en offenseront.' On dit à un autre : ‚Toi aussi, tu manges avec les cinq doigts.' ‚Que faire?' fit-il, ‚je n'en ai pas plus.'

II. 96. Un bédouin fit le pèlerinage à la Mecque. Tandis qu'il faisait le tour du caaba, on lui vola son turban. ‚O Dieu,' dit-il, ‚la première fois que je fais la visite à ta maison, tu as commandé qu'on me vole mon turban. Si tu me vois encore une fois ici, commande alors qu'on me casse les dents!'

II. 247. On amena un bédouin devant le calife. En voyant celui-ci assis sur son trône, au-dessous duquel les autres personnes étaient debout, il dit : ‚Salut à toi, ô Dieu!' Le calife dit : ‚Je ne suis pas Dieu.' ‚O archange Gabriel!' dit l'Arabe. ‚Je ne suis pas Gabriel non plus.' ‚Tu n'es pas Dieu, et tu n'es pas Gabriel,' reprit le bédouin, ‚mais pourquoi es-tu donc assis seul sur cette estrade-là? Descends et prends place parmi les hommes.'

Encore : I. 12; 56; 57; 83; II. 120; 195; 254.

Une caractéristique amusante des femmes de trois nationalités est donnée dans l'anecdote suivante :

II. 245. Un roi avait trois femmes, une Persane, une Arabe et une Copte. Une nuit, étant couché à côté de la Persane, il lui demanda : ‚Quelle heure est-il?' ‚Il est matin,' dit la Persane. ‚D'où le sais-tu?' demanda-t-il. ‚Parce que le parfum des roses et des autres fleurs odoriférantes se fait sentir, et les oiseaux commencent de

[1] Les gens bien élevés ne se servent en mangeant que de deux ou trois doigts.

chanter.‘ La nuit après, étant couché auprès de la femme arabe, il lui fit la même question. Elle répondit : ‚Il est matin : les perles de mon collier font refroidir ma poitrine.‘ La troisième nuit il était couché auprès de la femme copte et lui fit la même question. ‚Il est matin,‘ dit-elle ; ‚je le sais parce que je sens le besoin d'aller aux latrines.‘

Quant aux habitants des villes et des provinces de la Perse, les Qazvīniens figurent le plus souvent dans la Risālä-i-dilgušā. Si les Qazvīniens ont eu la réputation de sots, c'est ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, je pense, qui a contribué le plus à créer cette légende. Dans mon article ‚Les sots dans la littérature populaire des Persans‘, j'ai cité une partie des anecdotes de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī relatives aux Qazvīniens. J'y ajoute ici quelques autres.

II. 29. Traduite par Browne (A Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion, p. 255 en bas).

II. 30. ‚Les sots‘, nº 18.

II. 41. Une troupe de Qazvīniens était partie dans la guerre contre les hérétiques. En revenant, chacun d'eux portait la tête d'un hérétique au bout d'un bâton, à l'exception d'un seul qui portait un pied coupé sur son bâton. On lui demanda : ‚Qui a tué cet homme-là ?‘ ‚Moi,‘ répondit-il. ‚Alors, pourquoi n'en apportes-tu pas la tête ?‘ ‚Quand j'arrivai, on en avait déjà emporté la tête,‘ dit le Qazvīnien.

II. 46. ‚Les sots‘, nº 15.

II. 62. Traduite par Browne (l. c., p. 256, 6ᵉ alinéa).

II. 75. ‚Les sots‘, nº 12.

II. 99. Les gardes de nuit trouvèrent une nuit un Qazvīnien ivre. Ils le saisirent en disant : ‚Lève-toi, afin que nous te conduisions en prison.‘ L'homme dit : ‚Si je pouvais marcher à pied, je serais allé à la maison.‘

II. 102. Voir ci-dessus, p. 14.

II. 118. ‚Les sots‘, nº 14.

II. 119. ‚Les sots‘, nº 19.

II. 129. ‚Les sots‘, nº 16.

II. 138. Un Qazvīnien, sur son lit de mort, lâcha un vent. On lui dit : ‚N'as tu pas honte devant ceux qui sont présents?' ‚Comme je ne les reverrai plus, comment aurai-je honte devant eux?' fit-il.

II. 147. Un Qazvīnien alla combattre un lion. Il poussa un cri et lâcha un vent. On lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi est-ce que tu pousses un cri?' ‚Pour faire peur au lion,' dit-il. ‚Et pourquoi est-ce que tu lâches un vent?' ‚Parce que j'ai peur moi aussi.'

II. 152. Traduite par Browne (l. c., p. 257, 2ᵉ alinéa).

II. 157. Un Qazvīnien alla en guerre avec un arc, mais sans flèches, en disant : ‚Je ramasserai les flèches qui viennent de l'ennemi.' ‚Mais,' dit-on, ‚s'il n'en vient pas?' ‚Alors il n'y aura pas de guerre.'

II. 172. Un Qazvīnien dit : ‚On m'a volé un poids de cent dirhems.' ‚Regarde bien,' dit-on, ‚peut-être qu'il est dans la balance.' ‚On l'a volé avec la balance,' fit-il.

II. 174. Un sourd dit à un Qazvīnien : ‚J'ai entendu dire que tu t'es marié.' ‚Grand Dieu,' exclama l'autre, ‚toi qui n'entends pas, comment as-tu entendu cela?'

II. 211. Voir ci-dessus, p. 16.

II. 250. Un Qazvīnien se présenta devant le médecin et dit : ‚Les cheveux me font mal.' Le médecin demanda : ‚Qu'as-tu mangé?' ‚Du pain et de la glace,' répondit-il. Le médecin dit : ‚Va-t-en et meurs! ton mal ne ressemble pas aux maladies des autres hommes, ni ta nourriture à celle des autres hommes.'

Encore : II. 49; 94; 99; 122; 127; 147; 167; 178.

Les Khorassaniens figurent comme des sots, des vauriens ou des filous.

II. 101. Voir ci-dessus, p. 14.

II. 108. ‚Les sots', nᵒ 17.

II. 176. Un Khorassanien avait un cheval maigre. On lui demanda : ‚Pourquoi ne donnes-tu pas de l'orge à ce cheval-là?' ‚Il mange chaque soir dix män d'orge,' dit le Khorassanien. ‚Mais pourquoi est-il donc si maigre?' ‚Je lui ai emprunté les rations d'un mois.'

Encore : II. 40; 68; 115; 189; 203.

L'habitant de Chiraz est plein d'esprit et prompt à la repartie.

II. 91. Un homme de Chiraz préparait du bāng[1] dans la mosquée. Le gardien de la mosquée arriva et lui fit des reproches. Le Chirazien le regarda et, voyant qu'il était paralytique, chauve et aveugle, il s'écria : ‚O homme, Dieu ne t'a pas tellement comblé de bienfaits que tu aies bien lieu de montrer un si grand zèle pour protéger sa maison.'

Encore : II. 107; 139.

Les anecdotes relatives à des habitants de Kāšān (II. 3, 39), de Šuštär (II. 7), de Qumm (II. 25; 32), d'Hamadan (II. 146) et d'Ispahan (II. 114) sont peu caractéristiques.

Les Lurs sont considérés, par les Persans, comme des rustres et des naïfs.

II. 143. Un Lur était présent dans une assemblée religieuse. Le prédicateur dit : ‚Le pont du paradis est plus mince qu'un cheveu et plus aigu que le tranchant d'un sabre, et au jour du jugement dernier tous devront passer par là.' Le Lur se leva et dit : ‚O Mullā, n'y a-t-il pas de rampe ou d'autre sorte d'appui pour celui qui passera?' ‚Non,' dit le prédicateur. ‚Alors,' dit le Lur, ‚tu as ri joliment dans ta barbe, car, par Dieu, quand même il serait un oiseau, il ne pourra pas passer par le pont.'

Anecdotes diverses.

I. 5. Un homme vit un enfant qui pleurait, tandis que sa mère s'efforçait de l'apaiser, mais l'enfant ne voulait pas se taire. L'homme dit à l'enfant : ‚Tais-toi donc, sinon je vais coucher avec ta mère.' Puis la mère dit : ‚Il ne le croit pas, s'il ne le voit de ses propres yeux.'

I. 38. On arrangeait un concours hippique. Un cheval atteignit le but le premier. Un homme se mit à sauter de joie et à crier : ‚Dieu est grand!' Un autre, qui était à côté de lui, demanda : ‚Est-ce ton cheval à toi?' ‚Non,' dit-il, ‚mais le mors est à moi.'

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[1] Narcotique très usité en Perse.

I. 55. Une femme tomba malade et dit à son mari : ‚Malheur à toi! que feras-tu, si je meurs?' ‚Que ferai-je,' répliqua-t-il, ‚si tu ne meurs pas?'

I. 88. Un homme qui avait le nez long demanda une femme en mariage. ‚Tu ne connais pas mes bonnes qualités,' dit-il, ‚je suis d'un commerce agréable et patient dans l'adversité.' ‚Je ne doute pas,' fit-elle, ‚que tu ne sois patient dans l'adversité, vu que tu as porté ce nez-là pendant quarante ans.'

I. 90. Un homme entra chez un épicier et lui dit : ‚Si tu as de l'ail, donne-m'en, afin que l'odeur de ma bouche soit plus agréable.' ‚As-tu donc mangé des excréments,' demanda l'épicier, ‚que tu veux rendre meilleure l'odeur de ta bouche avec de l'ail?'

II. 98. Un homme alla prendre de la bière chez un marchand de bière. Celui-ci lui donna de la bière aigre et puante. L'homme la but et donna dix dinars pour la bière. Le marchand dit : ‚Ceci est plus que le prix de ma bière.' L'homme reprit : ‚Je ne paye pas le prix de la bière, mais je te donne ceci pour récompenser l'habileté avec laquelle, ayant un derrière tellement large, tu as pu remplir une coupe étroite comme ça.'

II. 202. Un homme avait loué une maison. Les planches du plafond criaient fort. Il s'adressa au propriétaire de la maison et lui pria de faire des réparations, mais celui-ci dit : ‚Les planches du plafond font des louanges à Dieu.' ‚Bien,' dit le locataire, ‚mais je crains que les louanges ne soient suivis d'une prosternation.'

II. 226. Une femme avait survécu à deux maris. Le troisième mari étant tombé malade d'une maladie mortelle, elle dit en pleurant devant lui : ‚O mon mari, où vas-tu? à qui me laisses-tu?' ‚Au quatrième cocu,' répondit-il.

Pour finir, voici une historiette dans le genre de Sherlock Holmes.

II. 269. A l'époque où Abū ʿAlī Sīnā[1] s'était enfuī d'Hamadan en fuyant devant ʿAlā-ud-däwlä et était arrivé à Bagdad[2], un homme,

[1] Avicenne.

[2] La situation telle qu'elle est représentée ici ne s'accorde pas avec la vérité historique. Avicenne s'enfuit d'Hamadan par crainte de Tāǰ-ul-mälik, le maître tout-puissant de cette ville, pour chercher un refuge chez ʿAlā-ud-däwlä, souverain d'Ispahan, puis il demeura à Ispahan jusqu'à sa mort.

qui s'était établi au bord du Tigre, faisait beaucoup de tapage dans l'effort de vendre des médicaments, car il se faisait passer pour médecin. Abū ʿAlī s'arrêta là un moment pour s'amuser de cette vue. Une femme apporta à l'homme l'urinal d'un malade. Il y regarda et dit : ‚Ce malade est un juif.' Puis, y ayant regardé de nouveau, il dit : ‚Tu es la servante de ce malade.' ‚Oui,' dit-elle. Il regarda de nouveau l'urinal et dit : ‚La maison de ce malade est dans le quartier est.' ‚Oui,' dit-elle. L'homme continua : ‚Hier il a mangé du lait caillé.' ‚Oui,' fit-elle. Les gens étaient en admiration devant le savoir de l'homme. Abū ʿAlī lui-même était émerveillé. Il restait là, jusqu'à ce que le bruit de l'affaire se fût calmé; puis il s'avança et demanda : ‚Comment as-tu pu savoir cela?' Il dit : ‚De la même manière que je t'ai reconnu : tu es Abū ʿAlī.' ‚Voilà ce qui est encore plus difficile,' s'écria Abū ʿAlī. Comme il pressait l'homme de lui révéler le secret, celui-ci dit : ‚Lorsque cette femme-là m'apporta l'urinal, je vis qu'il y avait de la poussière sur la manche de sa robe; j'en conclus qu'elle était juive[1]. Sa robe était usée, d'où je conclus qu'elle était une servante, et comme les juifs n'entrent pas au service des musulmans, je compris qu'elle était la servante de cette personne.[2] Des taches de lait caillé étant visibles sur sa robe, je conclus qu'on avait mangé du lait caillé dans la

[1] Est-ce qu'il s'agit ici de quelque rite juif, d'une prosternation qui ait laissé des traces sur la manche de la jeune fille? M. le professeur D. Simonsen m'a donné les renseignements suivants : Dans le rite juif il existe une prière avec confession qui a sa place après les parties principales du service divin. A l'origine, cette prière, contrairement à la prière précédente, faite par toute l'assistance, avait un caractère privé, et c'est pour cela qu'en la récitant on se couvre le visage avec le bras; mais autrefois — un des noms de ce chapitre du rituel (נפילת אפים) en est la preuve — une sorte de prosternation était de rigueur. On ne se prosternait pas, aux anciens temps, tout droit, le front contre la terre, afin de ne pas avoir l'apparence d'adorer les figures représentées dans le pavé de mosaïque, mais de côté. Dans diverses contrées et à diverses époques on a préféré le côté gauche, et alors il était tout naturel qu'on s'appuyât sur le bras gauche en s'inclinant à terre, tourné à gauche. Qu'une jeune fille ait assisté à ces cérémonies est bien peu probable, mais le premier auteur de l'anecdote, ayant vu les hommes dans de telles attitudes, en a pu tirer des conclusions fausses.

[2] C'est-à-dire que son maître était juif lui aussi.

maison, et qu'on en avait donné au malade. Enfin comme les maisons des juifs sont situées dans le quartier est, la maison du malade devait se trouver également dans ce quartier-là.' ,Cela étant admis,' dit Abū ʿAlī, ,comment m'as-tu reconnu?' L'homme répondit: ,Aujourd'hui la nouvelle est arrivée, qu'Abū ʿAlī s'était enfui devant ʿAlā-ud-däwlä. J'ai compris qu'il se rendrait à cette ville, et je savais que personne autre que lui n'aurait assez de perspicacité pour soupçonner le jeu que je viens de jouer.'

La Risālä-i-dilgušā et les collections d'anecdotes modernes.

D'après P. Horn (Keleti Szemle I, p. 71), le poète persan Qā'anī, dans sa collection d'anecdotes ,Pärīšān', a donné plusieurs historiettes qui se trouvent déjà chez ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī. On en trouvera aussi quelques-unes éparses dans les 21 chapitres du livre Riyāẓ-ul-ḥikāyāt. Dans la collection anonyme Laṭāif u ẓarāif, un très grand nombre des anecdotes de la Risālä-i-dilgušā ont été reproduites, en partie presque textuellement; quelquefois toute une série des anecdotes de la Risālä est donnée, ici, dans le même ordre où elles se trouvent chez ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī. Il n'y a donc pas de doute, que la Risālä n'ait été une des sources principales des Laṭāif u ẓarāif.

Mehemed Tewfik, auteur d'une édition du sottisier de Naṣr-ud-dīn, y a ajouté une collection d'anecdotes du même genre, dont le héros est appelé Buadem (,cet homme-ci').[1] Horn, dans l'article susnommé, a émit l'hypothèse, que Tewfik aura connu et exploité les facéties de ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī, vu qu'environ 30 anecdotes de Buadem s'y retrouvent; seulement, là où ʿUbaïd-i-Zākānī parle d'un Qazvīnien ou d'une autre personne anonyme, Tewfik y a substitué son ,Buadem'.

Voici un tableau comparatif des anecdotes de la collection Laṭāif u ẓarāif[2] et de celles de ,Buadem' qui sont tirées de la Risālä-i-dilgušā.

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[1] Die Schwänke des Nassr-ed-din und Buadem von Mehemed Tewfik, übersetzt von Dr. Müllendorf. Reclam's Universalbibliothek, Nr. 2735.

[2] Édition 1295 a. H., sine loco.

Risālä.	Laṭāif.	Tewfik.
I. nº 28	p. 14	
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87	p. 72	
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II. nº 8	p. 44	
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31	p. 55	23
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34	p. 56	27
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39	p. 58	
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Risālä.	Laṭāif.	Tewfik.
II. nº 46	p. 45	nº 8
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87	p. 55	
88	p. 59	
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Risālä.	Laṭāif.	Tewfik.	Risālä.	Laṭāif.	Tewfik.
II. nº 96	p. 52		II. nº 174		13
97	p. 13	11 (var.)	176	p. 61	
98		33 (var.)	178	p. 58	
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100	p. 53		184	p. 61	
102	p. 53		185		42
103	p. 53		186	p. 47	
105	p. 13	29	187	p. 59	
106	p. 61		207	p. 59	
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114	p. 63		213	p. 61	
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131	p. 42		216		31
132		43	226	p. 26 (var.)	124
134		40	229	p. 43	
139	p. 42 (var.)		230	p. 44	
144	p. 61		237	p. 54	
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146	p. 41		239		97
147	p. 30		241	p. 62	
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149	p. 53		250	p. 19	
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155	p. 60 (var.)		264	p. 46	
159	p. 23	105	269	p. 50	
160	p. 26		270		9
162	p. 48		273	p. 54	
164	p. 53		274	p. 62	
166	p. 61		277		38
169	p. 26	1 (var.)			

Notes supplémentaires à l'article ‚Les sots dans la tradition populaire des Persans'.

(Acta Orientalia, I, p. 43 sqq.)

Nº 5. Pour Yäzīd ibn Märwān il faut lire Yäzīd ibn Ṭärwān; voir M. Hartmann, Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, V (1895), p 49.

Nº 17 B. Wesselski, Der Hodscha Nasreddin, nº 419.

Nº 18. Bar Hebraeus, nº 597.

Nº 25. A comparer Bar Hebraeus, nº 485.

Nº 37. A comparer Wesselski, nº 161, Buadem, nº 88.

Nº 42. Buadem, nº 95.

Nº 47. Le conte se trouve dans le livre Riyāż-ul-ḥikāyāt, VI. 35; à comparer Hammer, Rosenöl, II, p. 315 sq.

Roberto de' Nobili
and the Sanskrit Language and Literature.

By
W. Caland, Utrecht.

In an appendix added to a paper entitled: ‚De Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda' (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetensch. te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterk. 5e Reeks, 3e deel, pag. 328 sqq.) I put the question how far this famous missionary's knowledge of Sanskrit and its literature reached. What was known about him in this respect at that time, had to be taken from his Apology (written 1615), but the edition of this text in Bertrand's work ‚La Mission du Maduré' (Paris 1847—1850, Vol. II) was incomplete, and, moreover, only a French translation from the original Latin, in which the various quotations from Sanskrit texts had been altogether omitted. This regrettable omission is now rectified in a work which has recently appeared under the title: ‚Robert de Nobili S.J., ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Missionsmethode und der Indologie', von P. Dr. Peter Dahmen S.J., Münster in Westfalen 1924, Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung. Although we must be thankful for this new book on the famous Jesuit missionary, we are not quite satisfied: instead of giving the contents of the Apology, Pater Dahmen ought to have published the whole of it in the original Latin. On my request, however, P. Dahmen was kind enough to put at my disposal his careful copy of the Apology, so that now we are able to form a more precise idea of Nobili's knowledge of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature, and, what is equally important, of his system of transcribing the sounds of this language. We must, however, bear in mind that the copy of the Apology is not written by Nobili him-

self, though he has signed it. If some of the quotations, therefore, appear in a very corrupt form, this *may* be due to the copyist of Nobili's paper.

I now proceed to publish those passages which bear on our subject.

,... quod Bracmanes qui vocantur *Comati*, *Congoni*, *Sinaj* ... quibus non licet communes Bracmanorum leges ediscere, sed tantum habent quosdam nullius momenti libros, in quibus solum quasdam particulares recitationes reperies, et quasdam ad praxim pertinentia, quomodo scilicet matrimonia fieri debeant, linea quibus ceremoniis et recitationibus collo jaci debea[n]t et his similia; quonam autem fine id fiat et cuius rei sint insignia et propter quid inferantur, haec in illorum libris non reperiuntur, quia haec tantum reperiuntur in parte legis Bracmanorum, quae vocatur *Smarta* et in libro legis, quae vocatur *Apastamba Sutram* capitulo seu parte decima sexta.'

The libri nullius momenti mentioned by Nobili are probably the prayogas, which belong to the various gṛhyasūtras. By the word ,lex' Nobili understands the Veda and all those texts which are connected with it. Nobili's statement that the ceremonies of the *upavīta* are found in the 16th part of the Āpastambasūtra (i. e. the gṛhyasūtra) is correct, see below.

,Ita in his terris vaccas ad lac bibendum fideles Christiani non poterunt in suis domibus habere, quia hoc facienti maximum futurum dicunt praemium Poetae gentiles, ut est in libro, qui dicitur *Mahaad-miam* in multis locis et in aliis libris historiarum, quae vocantur *Purânam*. Nec licebit album pannum a Christianis indui, quia dicunt esse album ex virtute lunae, in cuius cultum vestiri debet, et ideo vocant illum *Sômen*, quo nomine etiam lunam appellant, quia videlicet ex lunae veneratione huiusmodi nomen panno albo tribuerunt, ut est in libro, qui vocatur *Smarta* cap. 2° circa initium. Nec butirum comedere licebit Christiano, eo quod Deorum putant esse comestionem, quare cum gentiles butirum comedunt, offerendum illud putant Diis. Quin imo putant butirum effigiem esse ignis, qui apud istos ut Deus colitur, ut videre est in libro legis, quae vocatur *Ciusù* in parte quae

vocatur *Xaque* in fine, per verba, quae in Giurindano translata in Latinum sic verti debent: „Omnes ex butiro sacrificium faciunt, quia butirum effigies est ignis et ideo si quis ita fecerit gaudium affert Deo igni.“ Neque etiam licebit orizam comedere, orizam enim Deum esse dicunt et ita in eadem lege, in parte quae vocatur *Arana* in cap. 1° (5° ?), qui vocatur *Upanixat* paulo post initium, cuius verba translata sunt haec: „Deus est oriza, cuius causa viventes omnes vivunt“, et in eadem lege, in parte quae vocatur *Xaquir*, in capite *Assumedeiagam* circa finem ... dicit, quae verba translata sunt haec: „*Brumâ* qui Deus est et ad effigiem oryzae“.‘

Mahaadmiam (the double *a* may represent the long *a*) is obviously *māhātmyam*. What is said about cows and white garments being sacred to *Soma*, is not known to me from any Sanskrit text. The word *Ciusu* (or *Gusu*?) must mean *Yajus*, but the Sanskrit equivalent of *Xaque* or *Xaquir* I cannot guess, *śākhā* being apparently out of the question. The words translated from the Yajurveda might perhaps be: *ājyena juhoti, agner vā etad rūpaṃ yad ājyaṃ; yad ājyena juhoti, agnim eva tat prīṇāti*, TBr. III. 8. 14. 2 (from the description of the Aśvamedha). The passage from an *Upaniṣad* is perhaps Taitt. Upaniṣad II. 2: *annaṃ brahmeti vyajānāt* (*annād dhy eva khalv imāni bhūtāni jāyante*) *annena jātāni jīvanti*. We may note, in this connexion, that also in the Relation des Erreurs, which may possibly be mainly derived from Nobili, rice is said to be adored as a Deity by the Hindus (‚ris cuit‘ = *anna*). The passage about the Aśvamedha-sacrifice I have been unable to trace.

‚Dico *Corumbii* est tantum insigne stirpis, nullo habito respectu ad aliquam sectam, probatur ex libro *Smurtâ* in parte, quae dicitur *Brumâ cari carûmám*, ubi sic habetur: *Chuddá carùma duuijatinam saruuexam êva darmata pratamebde tritiscua* (Nobili himself had perhaps written: *tritie ua*) *kartaviám stuti chodenát*, cuius sensus fidelis est verbo ad verbum: „negotium corumbini omnibus Bracmanibus solum ex stirpis conditione peragendum est primo vel tertio anno aetatis, ut in lege scriptum est“. Ubi commentum habet, caeteris stirpibus non convenire proprie tale insigne.‘

The passage here quoted from the Smṛti, where the *brahmacārikarma* is treated, is Manu II. 35: *cūḍākarma dvijātīnāṃ sarveṣām eva dharmataḥ | prathame 'bde tṛtīye vā kartavyaṃ śruticodanāt.* In Kullūka I find no restriction of the kind indicated by Nobili.

,...Et in lege quae vocatur *Gusu* in parte quae vocatur *Sanquitei* cap. 4 sic dicitur: *Comàra vixuaguà*, cuius explicatio est: „sicut puer sine *corumbino*." Agitur autem eo loco et rogatur *Deiwendrum*, ut quaedam tela in vanum jaci faciat, et subjunguntur illa verba: „sicut puer sine *corumbino*", cuius dictionis germana et communis explicatio est: „sicut puer sine *corumbino*", quo ad Bracmanitatis stirpem inutilis est et quasi in vanum, sic in vanum procedant tela' etc.

The passage here alluded to actually occurs in the Taittirīyasaṃhitā in the fourth book (IV. 6. 4. p.): *yatra bāṇāḥ sampatanti kumārā viśikhā iva | indro nas tatra vṛtrahā viśvahā śarma yacchatu.* Nobili himself had perhaps written *Comàra vixica iua*. These three words are quoted by Kullūka in his commentary on Manu II. 35 (and that Kullūka was known to Nobili appears from the passage noted above), but the reference to Indra proves that he must also have had before him the Taittirīyasaṃhitā.

,Sed magis evidenter in lege, quae vocatur *Apastamba Sutram* vel alio nomine *Smartam*, cap. 3° ubi agit de more, de modo et ceremonia, quibus debet peragi *Corumbini* negotium, ita concludit: *iieta ruxi xicá nidadatthi yata vaixam cula darmasia.* Cuius explicatio verbo ad verbum haec est: „iuxta familiae suae stirpis caput seu ducem *Corumbii* faciendum est pro istorum (loquitur de Brachmanibus) stirpium varietate.'

The passage is indeed taken from the Āpastambagṛhyasūtra (which we might equally call a *smārtasūtra*), not, however, from the third, but from the sixteenth chapter or paṭala, see above pag. 39. The passage runs: *yathā-ṛṣi śikhā nidadhāti yathā vaiṣāṃ kuladharmaḥ syāt* (16. 6–7).

,Ex quo fit ut inter Brachmanes vario modo *Corumbi* gestetur: quidam enim ad sinistram aliquantulum vergens, alii in medio capitis ad frontem paululum vergens, alii alio modo. Clare habetur hoc in

libro qui vocatur *Anustanavidi*, ubi dicitur quod Brachmanes, qui descendant ex stirpe *Vaxistin*, debent gestare *corumbii* in occipitio ad dexteram partem paululum vergens, et Brachmanes qui descendant ex *Jamadagnî* in sinistram partem aliquantulum vergens; Brahmanes vero *Gusarati* in medio capitis, et Brahmanes ex stirpe *Cholijêr* post medium capitis, duobus circa digitis frontem versus. Dicunt enim isti Brachmanes se a variis capitibus seu ducibus descendere.'

The *anuṣṭhānavidhi* quoted by Nobili is unknown to us. Nearest comes the Gṛhyasaṃgraha II. 40: *dakṣiṇākapardā vāsiṣṭhā ātreyās trikapardinaḥ | aṅgirasaḥ pañcacūḍā muṇḍā bhṛgavaḥ śikhino 'nye*, a passage which ultimately rests on the Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra. The ,capita seu duces' are the Ṛṣis.

,Certum est, ubi dicebant pro varietate stirpium et ducum, a quibus descendant, vario modo gestari *Corumbij*. Ita habetur in libro *Smurtî*, in parte quae vocatur *Manû* circa initium: *huta deza uixexasvá getra uixexiua smarjate*, id est: „locus, in quo debet peragi *Corumbij* iuxta stirpem, seu pro varietate stirpis pensandus", et subjungit: *dacxinam sehura uaxistanam, uamato baraduagianam ubaiata caxiapanamati*, id est: „ex *vaxisten* ortum trahentes *corumbij* ad dexteram gestare debent; qui vero ex *baraduagiane* ortum trahentes, ad sinistram; ex *caxiapene* vero venientes in utraque parte gestant *corumbij*." Sed haec stirps in ista regione abest.'

Nothing of the kind is handed down in our Manu-texts. The first quotation can perhaps be restored as follows: *cūḍā deśaviśeṣā svagotraviśeṣā vā smaryate*; the second one: *dakṣiṇataś cūḍā vāsiṣṭhānāṃ, vāmato bhāradvājānām, ubhayataḥ kaśyapānām iti*. The ablatives *baraduagiane* and *caxiapene* are obviously derived from Tamil nominatives *bāradvājiyaṉ, kaśiyapaṉ*.

,... quod Poetae gentiles ... in suis carminibus ... dicunt, in illo (viz. *kuḍumbi*) residere deos, sicuti in oculis vaccae dicunt residere lunam et solem, in cornuis *Subramanien* et *Vinayaguen*, qui sunt duo filii *Rudreni*, et in naribus dicunt esse *Rudren*, et in lingua *Visnû*, et in auribus *Sarasuatij*, et in dentibus Deos, et in capillis omnes paenitentes antiquos, qui vocantur *Ruxigal*; quatuor pedes

dicunt esse quatuor leges, ubera ambrosia(m) continentia et reliqua eodem modo.'

The tradition that Subrahmaṇya (the usual South Indian designation of Skanda or Kārttikeya) and Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka are to be found in the horns of the cow, &c. must be derived from some Purāṇa. It is found elsewhere, e. g. in Baldaeus (ed. de Jong, page 192). Note again the Tamil plural form *Ruṣigal*, and the genitive *Rudreni* from Tamil *Ruttiran*.

,In tota lege *Gusù* nihil reperitur ad lineam pertinens, ... tantum aliquibus in locis, ut est in parte quae vocatur *Arîna*, supponitur a Brachmanibus gestari debere lineam, et in parte quae vocatur *Sanquitei* ex occasione quarundam ceremoniarum, quae pro defunctis fiunt (de his enim ceremoniis inibi agitur) jubetur lineas in illo actu insolito modo gestari, scilicet ex humero dextro ad latus sinistrum pendentes; sed utrum hic sit modus gestandi lineam in eo actu ad dolorem significandum, vel ad idolorum cultum institutus, quantum ex testimonio legis colligi potest, videtur prae se ferre dolorem, eo quod conjungatur cum percussione femoris vel infra femur... Dicitur ... in parte, quae vocatur *Araria* 2 cap., quod nisi linea eo modo gestetur in eo actu, in vanum pro mortuis ceremonias adhibitum iri.'

If *Arîna* means the Āraṇyaka, this might refer to Taitt. Ār. II. 1: *ajinaṃ vāso vā dakṣiṇata upavīya, dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum uddharate, 'vadhatte savyam iti yajñopavītaṃ, etad eva viparītaṃ prācīnāvītam.* A passage in the Taitt. Saṃhitā where the funeral rites are described is not to be found, but in the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 6. 6 we read: *hotā prathamaḥ prācīnāvītī marjalīyaṃ parīyat.* The femoris percussio at the funeral rites is well known, see e. g. Āp. Śrs. XIV. 22. 1–2 and Caland, Die altindischen Toten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, S. 24, &c. A passage in the Āraṇyaka containing the last statement of Nobili is not known to us.

,... Ex auctoritate libri, qui vocatur *Smurti*, in parte *Manù* circa initium, ubi variis stirpibus variae assignantur lineae: *Carpasàm upauītam uiprasyerdàm uiritu Striuritu Xana Maiàm raghio Vaiciatià uica Sutracàm*, cuius sensus est: „Brachmanibus 1° linea triplex fiat,

ex gusipio (*algodam* vocant); *Raius* vero seu regia stirpe ortis linea fiat ex *Xana* (quod est quoddam lini genus); *commottij* vero ex alio lino, quasi Canope fiat".'

The passage of Manu (II. 44) runs: *kārpāsam upavītaṃ syād viprasyordhvavṛtaṃ trivṛt | śaṇasūtramayaṃ rājño vaiśyasyāvikasautrikam.*

,Et infra dicitur: „*Megalàm aginàm dandàm upauitàm commandalam brumà tegio abiuridiastàm satatandà daraietù uaticum. Megalam* quaedam herba est, quam cingunt pueri, Brachmanes gestant ante coniugium. *Dandam*, baculus; *upavitam*, linea; *Camandalam* quoddam vas ad bibendum, gorgolitae simile; haec omnia faciunt crescere Brachmanem in claritate seu splendore".'

In Manu only the first line of the śloka is found (II. 64). I propose to read: *mekhalām ajinaṃ daṇḍam upavītaṃ kamaṇḍalum | brahmatejo 'bhivṛddhyarthaṃ satataṃ dhārayed dvijaḥ.*

,... Probatur 2° ex parte legis, quae vocatur *Smartà*: *Upaninam uiachiasiamà*, id est: „pertinens ad lineam seu lineam explico"; *gerbatamexù brummanam upanaita*, id est: „Brachmanibus octavo aetatis anno lineae negotium debet peragi incipiendo a conceptione"; non contrariatur cum eo quod dicitur in *Manù*, ubi quinto aetatis anno jubetur id fieri, nam intelligitur ibi, si puer judicio sit praeditus; *garbaicada Xexu raganiàm*, id est: „regia stirpe ortis undecimo anno id fiat"; *garbadanda Xenì Vaixiam*, id est: „*commottis* duodecimo anno fiat". Addit etiam quod mense Aprili et Maii Brachmanibus, mense Junii et Julii ex regia stirpe ortis, mense Octobris et Novembris *Commotis* linea debet poni. Sequitur deinde, quod debeant Brachmanes comedere, et quasdam adorationes debent fieri, et deinde dicit lineam esse collo ponendam. Cum autem linea ponitur, magister qui lineam ponit, ita puero dicit nominando nomen pueri: „V. g. Cutti, lineali stegmate seu negotio te clarifico, seu illustrem et clarum facio", quae formula etiam in *Curumbij* usurpatur. Voces sunt istae: „*N. upanayana carmana sangascharixe*".'

Here we easily recognize the passage Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra (10. 1–5): *upanayanaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | garbhāṣṭameṣu brāhmaṇam*

upanayīta | garbhaikādaśeṣu rājanyaṃ garbhadvādaśeṣu vaiśyam | vasanto grīṣmaḥ śarad ity ṛtavo varṇānupūrveṇa | brāhmaṇān bhojayitvā &c. The putting on of the *upavīta* is not mentioned in the Sūtra, but may have been so in a prayoga, just as the following words, which are properly a kind of saṃkalpa: *asāv upanayanakarmaṇā (tvā) saṁskariṣye. Cutti* is a fictive nomen proprium. Nobili's assertion that this formula is also employed at the cūḍākarman has to be taken cum grano salis, as here the saṃkalpa ought to be: *asau cūḍākarmaṇā (tvā) saṃskariṣye.* The passage in Manu to which Nobili refers, is II. 37.

,In libro *Smurtî*, in parte, quae vocatur *puruacaij*: *Chitracarma iatanecaij angeirum milliate xanaij brammaniamapi tatdua siatu sangascarir mandrapuruacaij.*'

Probably the verse, which I cannot find in any Smṛti (the designation *puruacaij* being incomprehensible) should be read as follows: *citrakarma yathānekair aṅgair unmīlyate śanaiḥ | brāhmaṇyam api tadvat syāt saṁskārair mantrapūrvakaiḥ.* The sense is according to Nobili's translation: ,Imperfecta pictura, quemadmodum paulatim membris variis bene pingendo clarificatur, eo modo Brachmanitas variis actionibus et insignibus perficitur et illustratur.'

,Confirmatur igitur, quia linea, quae sponso additur, *Vipagám aretàm* hoc ẹst matrimonii signum, et tertia linea vocatur *uttria upavitám*, hoc est linea aequalis panno, quod super umeros gestatur, ex quo fit quod Brachmanibus Badagà in quibusdam actionibus *Uttrià*, quod est pannum quod super humeros gestatur, non utantur, rationem reddentes tertiam lineam aequalem esse tali panno.'

Of these words only this much can be said with confidence that *Vipagám aretàm* represents Skr. *vivāhārtham* and *uttria upavitam* = *uttarīyopavītam.* The Badagas are probably the Telugus.

,Pari modo et in casu nostro accidit, quia dicunt Brachmanes isti se ortum trahere et genus habere sacrorum virorum, quos *Proxigal* vocant, id est paenitentes, quin imo et Deos se affirmant.'

The word *Proxigal* is without doubt missread for *Roxigal* or *Ruxigal*, again the Tamil plural from Ṛṣi. As to the last sentence

cp. ŚBr. II. 2. 2. 6: *dvayā vai devā, devā ahaiva devā, atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśruvāṁso 'nūcānās te manuṣyadevāh.*

,*scanda purânam* circa medium: *châudra chândana casturi cucumâ abarananiâ alaqximî paricâra artam nittiàm curù,* sensus est: „camphora, sandalum, muscus, crocus, ex auro torques, monilia, annuli, inaures etc. haec ad sorditatem corporis expellendam semper gestanda".'

The quotation, which cannot be traced, might be restored in the following manner: *candracandanakasturīkuṅkumābharaṇāni ca alakṣmīparihārārthaṃ nityaṃ kuru.*

,Et eodem libro dicitur: *Stigandàm, chandanàm, diuiàm, mandanartàm, pracalpaiet,* sensus est: „optimi pulveres odoramentorum sandalum valde optimum ornamenti causa praecipiendum".'

This half-śloka can easily be restored: *śrīkhaṇḍaṃ candanaṃ divyaṃ maṇḍanārthaṃ prakalpayet.*

,Et in libro *Stingâra saptaxatî pari carmartàm etanuai guendàm schivua manogaram, himaqxirer ruxarirschâ lepa iedusmà xentaie,* id est: „sandala et odoramenta, aqua ex floribus et ex radice *Lânuchan* (herba est quaedam odorifera) extracta, haec omnia ad ornamenta et gaudium, et ad corpus refrigerandum sunt usurpanda".'

A kāvya, entitled *śṛṅgārasaptaśatī*, is known to exist, but is not accessible to me. So the restoration of this śloka is difficult. I would suggest: *parikarmārtham ... gandhaṃ caiva manoharam | himakṣīrai rucakaiś ca lepayed uṣmaśāntaye.*

,Et in libro qui dicitur *biqxatanàm,* in parte quae vocatur *Nirgamànà paddatî, cundendum daualô guendô uartate uaqxasiatè, yetas smadadîcam quincîn mandanàm negha uediate*; sensus est, cum filia apud matrem conquereretur sibi ornamenta deesse, respondit mater hoc carmen: *gundendo* (quidam flos est) cum sandalo gestas, quid amplius desideras, nam caeteris ornamentis flos et sandalum maius est ornamentum.'

There exists a kāvya work *Bhikṣāṭana*, and its fourth part is called *nirgamanapaddhati*, cf. Eggeling, Catal. India Office Mss. vol. VII, page 1448. I propose to read the śloka in the following

manner: *kundendur dhavalo gandho vartate vakṣasīha te | etasmād adhikaṃ kiñcin maṇḍanaṃ neha vidyate.*

‚Et in libro *Rainaîna* (Nobili himself had perhaps written *Ramâina*) in parte *Ârania* circa medium describitur hiemale tempus et dicitur: *Udavasè ratixxiassia chandane mandà nauquitè tassiāpi naiuà giatobût taijò Chandanà uasasò*, id est: „quisquis ad refrigerandum corpus in aestivis caloribus utitur pannis aqua madentibus et sandalo, quod est ornamentum, hoc tempore, scilicet, hiemis propria consuetudine relicta, nec humido panno, nec sandalum usurpat".'

In the Āraṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, where we would expect to find this stanza in the 16th adhyāya, it is not given, at least in the Bombay edition. I am unable to restore the original Sanskrit, but I tentatively propose: *udavāse ratir yasya candane maṇḍanāhite | tasyāpi naiva hy artho 'bhūt tayoś candanavāsasoḥ.*

‚Et in libro qui vocatur *yedû vangxê*, maritus uxorem alloquitur, quae ex itinere et solis ardore defatigata domum venerat: *Nidaga qui ranenadia taptàm gatràm tavà priè alanerute ranuxnasià samapatir bauixiati*: „ex solis ardore defatigata es, ideo ad te ornandum, et ad callorem tui corporis expellendum sandalo te unge, seu asperge".'

Perhaps the Harivaṃśa is meant and the verse might run thus: *nidāghakaraṇenādya taptaṃ gātraṃ tava priye | alaṅkṛter anuśvasya samāpattir bhaviṣyati.*

‚Et in libro, qui vocatur *bâguatà*: *degàm alancaranàm uastràm guâna alanguarânam qxamà, nitilalam crutir gandô santatè schapi daracahà*: „corporis ornamentum pannus seu vestis, spiritus vero ornatus, patientia; frontis ornatus sandalum, familiae ornamentum multitudo filiorum".'

Although I have not traced the śloka in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, its restoration is not subject to any doubt: *dehālaṅkaraṇaṃ vastraṃ jñānālaṅkaraṇaṃ kṣamā | niṭilālaṅkṛtir gandho santateś cāpi dārakāḥ.*

‚Et in libro qui dicitur *Vaidiasastràm*, id est, medicinae sapientia: *saquini sparisinà schaiuà purnà chandrà naloqui naha chandanè liputà digassu muchiante pagaman narahà*, id est: „homines ex

.. contactu seu comestione, ex lunae quintadecimae splendore, ex sandali aspersione admodum refrigerantur".'

This verse, taken from a Vaidyaśāstra, might be restored with some doubt as follows: *sakhīnisparśinaś caiva pūrṇacandrāvalokinaḥ* | *candanābhiliptadehās sukhyante paramaṃ narāḥ.*

,Probatur ex carmine, quod est inter Brachmanes a nemine ignoratum, quod ab ipsis vocatur *taduqtam,* ubi de hac figura quadrata in fronte gestanda sic habetur: *chaturnà angulî bischa tîria gurdiam uipaschitàm, darbhàm nam adicàm sarvàm iterexam nauidiate,* hoc est: „signum oblongum quatuor digitorum, et totidem altum (id est quadratum) a Doctoribus usurpandum ex quacunque materia; reliquis vero non convenit huiusmodi figura uti".'

I am not able to restore this *tad uktam* to its original form: (*catasro*) *aṅgulīr viṣvak tiryag ūrdhvaṃ vipaścitām* | ... *adhikaṃ sarvam itareṣāṃ na vidyate.*

,Figura ex sandalo... quam Tamulice vocant *Tilacam,* ornamentum tantum est frontis, frontisque gemma vocatur ab omnibus. Probatur 1° ex libro *Cadambirî*: *Anatî dirganayatà auiralà xiraxanàm ati mandana surupa, tilaquenà tilacalàm caranà nebunà nitam binixu agam muià tilacà rupetichà.* Cuius sensus est: „Tilacam nec multum longum nec multum rotundum, nec in medio vacuum, sed aeque inter longitudinem et rotunditatem medium esse debet, ornamenti signum est".'

This passage, cited apparently from the Kādambarī, but as yet not found in this book, might be read thus: *anatidīrghānāyatāviralā . . . atimaṇḍanasurūpatilakena tilakālaṅkaraṇanipuṇanitambinīṣv aṅgam mukhatilako rūpayati ca.* Nobili's translation is incomplete. For some suggestions about this and another passage further on I am indebted to Dr. P. E. Dumont.

,Et paulo infra: *Anguexù samà lanerata nupurà cauxeija, canchiguna canganà queiju rangadà graijuija buxanà atralequà nasamanî chicurebio hijahija meuatilacam ijti tilaquena buxitam,* id est, quae corpori sunt ornamenta, ut *Nuburà,* pedum est ornamentum ex auro, *cauxeija,* id est album pannum sericum, *canchiguna,*

id est ex gemmis contexta zona, quae cingitur, *cangana*, id est manuum monilia, *queiju*, id est brachiorum ex auro ornamenta, *rangada*, id est humeris gestanda ornamenta, *graijueija buxanà*, id est, quidquid collo ornamenti pendet, *atralequa*, id est pictura genarum, *nasamani*, in naribus gestanda margarita, *chirurebio* id est coma. His omnibus *Tilacàm* maius cum sit ornamentum in fronte, illo utuntur.'

Read probably: *aṅgeṣu samalaṅkṛtanūpurakauśeyakāñcīguṇa-kaṅkanakeyūrāṅgadagraiviyabhūṣaṇagaṇḍa* (?) *lekhanāsāmaṇiśiroruhe-bhyo hy adhikam eva tilakam iti tilakena bhūṣitam.*

‚Et in libro *Kadambarî* de hoc signo *Tilacam* ita habetur: *Pari-carmà samapatî, taija, nitilatera sturita ganasam cucumà samniutèna atij pinchara balatâpam capita chandanâ tilaquena atij manogam*, id est: „Tilacam signum ad ornamentum institutum est, quod ex sandalo vel croco confectum veluti nascentem solem clarescere facit, et gaudio replet frontem".'

Hesitatingly I propose: *parikarmasamāpattitayā niṭilatiraskṛta-ghanasārakuṅkumasaṃyutenātipiñjarabālātāpaṃ kalpitacandanatila-kenātimanoharam.*

‚*Moquixàm* quod dicit de formali gloriam seu locum gloriae, quod est guirindaticum verbum, cuius definitio illa est: *duqua duenza carotiti moquixàm*, id est: „ex omni parte perfecta felicitas privans hominem omni tristitia et dolore, ut habetur in libro qui *sanniaxi darmàm* et alibi".'

This definition, taken from a *sannyāsidharma*, ought to run: *duḥkhadhvaṃsaṃ karotīti mokṣaḥ.*

Some remarks may now be made regarding Nobili's Sanskrit quotations. In the first place, it is certain that he knew the Sanskrit in Grantha-, not in Devanāgarī characters. This is proved 1. by the fact that he gives two short quotations in Grantha characters, viz. the definition of the Guru and that of the Sannyāsin, both very difficult to decipher. 2. by the manner in which he transcribes the anunāsika, viz. by the akṣara *ṅga*, e. g. in *sangascharixe* (*saṁskariṣye*), *sangascarir* (*saṁskārair*). In Grantha the anunāsika is expressed by a sign, which

very much resembles the Devanāgarī *ṅga*. It seems to me that this observation may prove that Nobili himself had copied the passages quoted by him, and that these passages had not been dictated to him by some Brahman. The irregularities in Nobili's Sanskrit may partly result from faulty transcription of this particular copy of the Apology, partly from a different pronunciation in the South. The transcription *°loquinaha* (*°lokinaḥ*), *narahà* (*naraḥ*), *daracahà* (*dārakāḥ*) agrees with the pronunciation of the visarga in use by very many Brahmans. All the aspiratae mediae are rendered without aspiration: *bavixiati, duenza, darma*. Both *ś* and *ṣ* are transcribed by *x*: *xica, xana, uaixia, vaixam* (*vaiṣām*, i. e. *vā eṣām*), *ruxi* (*ṛṣi*); *k* is expressed by *c* before *a, ai*, and *u*: *cula, avica, purvacaij*, but by *qu* before *i* and *e*: *°loquinaha, quincin, tilaquena*; *kṣ* is rendered by *qx*: *qxira, qxama, laqximi*; *g* is rendered by *g*: *gotra*, or by *gu*: *guenda*; *c* is expressed by *ch*: *chudda* (*cūḍā*), *chodenāt, chitra, °schapi* (*°ścāpi*), *chandra*; less consistent is the transcription of *j*, which sometimes is expressed by *j*: *duuijatinam*, sometimes by *g*: *aginam, raganiam*, sometimes by *gi*: *tegio*. The sound *h* is found as *g*: *manogaram, degam*, or *gh*: *negha*. Further it appears that Nobili's pronunciation of Sanskrit is influenced by Tamil, cf., e. g., *uaxista* with *x* = *ś*, *vipaga* (*vivāha*), *megala, vinayaga, mandra, cangana* and finally *sanquitei*, where the last syllable has the Tamil ending for skt. *ā*.

Now, from the manner which Nobili used in transcribing the sounds of Sanskrit (which may partly be founded in Italian), two conclusions may be drawn: 1. that he cannot possibly have written the Ezourvedam, a conclusion which can also, with almost absolute certainty, be drawn from other reasons, and 2. that, if the substance of the first six chapters of the ‚Relation des Erreurs‘ was originally due to him, as I surmised in my preface to the edition of this text, the Sanskrit names therein must have been altered; I confess that this fact is an argument against my conclusion that the contents of the first six chapters were written by Nobili.

If my conclusion drawn from the transcription of the anunāsika is well founded, it seems probable that Nobili has himself drawn his argumentative passages from the Sanskrit texts, and in this case we feel deep admiration for his learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the smṛti literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of its śākhās: the Yajurveda of the Taittirīyas.

The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

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Introductory remarks.

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A little more than twenty of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered in north-western India are dated, usually in such a way that the year, the month, and the number of the particular day within the month are given. In two cases, *viz.* in the Machai and the Mount Banj epigraphs, only the year is mentioned, and in one record, the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, there is a double dating in two different eras. The usual word for ‚year‘ is *saṃvatsara*, but in some cases, *viz.* in the first date of the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, and further in the Machai, the Kaldarra and the Skārah Ḍherī epigraphs, *varṣa* is used instead. It is not probable that the use of different words corresponds to a difference in the beginning of the year. One might think of explaining the word *varṣa* to mean a year which began with the rains. But it would not be safe to draw any such conclusion. The usual beginning of the year was probably in the autumn. I think that we can safely assume that such was the case from the occasional use of the Macedonian months. For in the Macedonian calendar Dios was the first month, and Dios roughly corresponds to October.

Moreover, Professor Jacobi, who has kindly helped me with his valuable advice about several knotty points in connexion with this paper, tells me that we may assume that the old Indian year was usually considered to begin in the autumn. That such was the case

he infers from the words for year used in the Ṛgveda, where *śarad* occurs in that sense 26 times, *saṃvatsara* 8 times and *himā* 4 times. The winter may therefore sometimes have been considered as the beginning of the year. The *śarad*-year, he says, originally began with Mṛgaśiras, which was therefore called *Āgrahāyaṇa* and kept its rank even after another month had replaced it as the first: still in the Bhagavadgītā, x. 35, Vāsudeva says: *māsānāṃ Mārgaśirṣo 'ham*, of the months I am Mārgaśīrṣa. When, in consequence of the precession of the equinoxes, the autumn was found to set in before the month Mārgaśīrṣa and Kṛttikā was fixed as the first Nakṣatra, Kārttika became the first month of the year.

We can, I think, safely assume that the year used in the North-West in Indo-Skythian times was *kārttikādi*, beginning with Kārttika.

The months themselves were *pūrṇimānta*, ending with the day of full-moon. That follows from the dates of the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription and from those of the Zeda and Ohind epigraphs. The first one is dated on the first[1] Vaiśākha, and this day is characterized as *pacha*, Sanskrit *pathya*, auspicious, evidently because it was the traditional birthday of the Buddha, the full-moon day of Vaiśākha. The *pūrṇimānta* reckoning is probably the old Indian one, though the months in the Brāhmaṇas are usually *amānta*, beginning with new-moon.

So far there is nothing un-Indian in the dates of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Other indications, however, point to the conclusion that the calendar was partly based on foreign models. I have already mentioned the occasional use of the Macedonian months, and that is more especially the case in the oldest inscription which we possess, the Taxila copper-plate of Patika of the 5th Panemos of the year 78. Then there is another detail which seems to be of importance in this connexion. The Indian month was divided into two pakṣas, and the

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[1] Messrs Senart and Boyer read the first word of l. 2 *paṃcame*. In my forthcoming edition of the inscription, however, I hope to show that we must read *prathame* or *pudhame*, as I have already suggested SBAW. 1916, p. 801.

days of each half-month were counted through from one to fifteen. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, on the other hand, the days of the whole month were counted through, from one to thirty. Thus we have the 20th Śrāvaṇa in the Kaldarra inscription, the 27th Proṣṭhapada on the Loriyān Tangai image, the 25th Jyaiṣṭha on the Āra stone, &c., and there is nowhere any mention of the pakṣa. In my edition of the Āra inscription[1] I have examined the dates of the Indian inscriptions of the Indo-Skythian period, and it will be seen from this examination that the same system is used in the inscriptions of the Kaniṣka group and also in the oldest Vikrama date, in the Śoḍāsa record of the year 72, while the pakṣas are mentioned in the old Āndhra inscriptions. The latter was no doubt the national Indian system, and when it has not been adopted in the oldest Vikrama date, I think that we have, in this fact, an indication which tends to show that the Vikrama era was instituted in imitation of some foreign reckoning.

The arrangement of the dates in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions naturally leads us to ask whether the era used in them is not of foreign origin. And as a matter of fact, the institution of a secular era does not seem to be an Indian idea. Since the days of the first Aryan conquest, Indian civilization developed on an unbroken line, chiefly under Brahmanical inspiration. It was derived from the gods and its laws were eternal. There was no reason for marking out any event, such as e. g. the coming into power of some king or some dynasty, and make it the starting-point of chronological calculations. The history of the Aryans had no beginning. It is only when new sects came into being, which broke with the authority of Vedic tradition, that we meet with Indian eras. The oldest one is probably that of the Jainas, and I have a strong suspicion that the Buddhist reckoning is framed on Jaina models. It is, moreover, characteristic of the Indian frame of mind that the starting-points of the Jaina and the Bauddha eras are not the birth of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, respectively, or

[1] Ep. Ind. XIV, pp. 135 ff.

the time of their illumination or their first sermon, but the moment when they disappeared from the world of men and were reabsorbed into the eternal reality of Nirvāṇa.

The common opinion among scholars is, however, that the era or eras used in the old Kharoṣṭhī records are of Indian origin.

The late Dr. Fleet always maintained that the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions of the period under consideration were, without any exception, to be referred to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and this era was, in his opinion, instituted to commemorate the accession of the great Indo-Skythian ruler Kaniṣka. This opinion has now, so far as I know, been abandoned by all scholars, and I do not think it probable that it will be revived.

At the present time, there seems to be a general agreement among scholars to the effect that it is impossible to refer all these dates to one single era. Most authors are of opinion that we have at least three such reckonings.

In the first place there is one inscription which is considered to stand alone, apart from all the rest, *viz.* the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78. It is dated, as we have seen, on the 5th Panemos, and during the reign of the Mahārāja Moga. This Moga has usually been identified with the king Maues, who is known from his coins, and who is generally considered to have been an early Śaka conqueror. His date has been assumed to be about 120 B.C.

Professor Rapson has, however, shown[1] that he must be assigned to a later date. The old theory reckoned with an invasion of India carried out by Mithradates I, after which the Persian and Parthian title ‚Great King of Kings‘, which is met with in Kharoṣṭhī records, was introduced into India. This belief is, however, based on a misunderstanding of a statement of the historian Orosius, and the assumption of the imperial title by the Śaka and Pahlava rulers of India cannot, he says, well have taken place before the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C., when the power of Parthia was greatly

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 568 ff.

reduced, so that the imperial title itself remained in abeyance from 88 to 57 B.C. ‚And in the meantime it was assumed not only by the Śaka king Maues in the East, but also, in the years 77 to 73, by Tigranes, king of Armenia, the great rival of Parthia in the West.' ‚The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Irān; not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II, when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent.' He says about the Patika inscription: ‚The month in the inscription is Parthian; and from this fact it may be inferred that the era itself is probably of Parthian origin. It may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I, c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues.'

M. Foucher holds a similar opinion about the time of the Śaka conquest as being subsequent to the reign of Mithradates II. He is inclined[1] to refer the Taxila plate to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., supposing the figure for 100 to have been suppressed, so that 78 stands for 178 and corresponds to 70 B.C.

Sir John Marshall has, however, shown[2] that these dates are much to early. Patika, who issued the Taxila plate of the year 78, was the son of the Satrap Liaka Kusuluka and had not himself come into office. In the inscription on the famous Mathurā Lion-capital he is mentioned as the Great Satrap Kusulaa Padika, together with the Satrap Śuḍasa, the son of the Great Satrap Rajula. In a Brāhmī inscription, the Āmohinī slab of the year 72, this same Śuḍasa, who is here called Śoḍāsa, is mentioned as Great Satrap. There must accordingly be an interval of twenty to thirty years between the Patika plate and the Śoḍāsa inscription. For during that period Patika had gradually risen to the rank, first of Satrap and sub-

[1] See his L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, Vol. II, p. 488[2].

[2] JRAS. 1914, pp. 984 ff.

sequently of Great Satrap, and Śoḍāsa, who was Satrap when Patika was Great Satrap, had become Great Satrap.

The date of the Śoḍāsa inscription thus allows us to arrive at an approximate dating of the Patika plate.

Now the Śoḍāsa record is certainly dated in the Vikrama era, and accordingly belongs to the year 15 A.D.[1] Sir John has further shown[2] that Śoḍāsa's father Rajula or Rājūvula was probably reigning about the beginning of the Christian era, and he is of opinion that the Patika plate falls about 17 B.C. I am convinced that it cannot, at any event, be earlier.

Sir John thinks that the Mahārāja Moga is mentioned in the inscription, not as the prince during whose reign it was engraved, but as the ruler who established the era in which it is dated. Whenever, however, a king's name is mentioned in the genitive in connexion with a date in ancient inscriptions, he is designated as the prince ruling at that particular moment, and we have not the slightest reason for supposing that the Patika plate is an exception to that rule. Moga was the souzerain during whose rule the inscription was engraved.

The initial point of the era cannot, accordingly, fall earlier than 95 B.C., if Sir John's date is correct, but it follows from what I have said above that it may fall later. In such circumstances we are naturally led to the conclusion that the era of the inscription commemorates the establishment of an independent Śaka kingdom in Seistān or the Śaka conquest of India, which started from Seistān, and which cannot have taken place earlier than 88 B.C. The consequence of the weakening of the Parthian power was that hordes of Śakas, who had till then been held back by the Parthian armies, found their way to their cousins in Seistān, whose power was con-

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[1] Professor Rapson, l. c., p. 575, gives 42 and not 72 as the year of the epigraph. He has, however, evidently overlooked the important paper by Professor Lüders, Ep. Ind. IX, pp. 243 ff., where it has been conclusively proved that the numerical symbol used in the inscription stands for 70 and not for 40.

[2] Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1912—13, p. 43.

sequently so much strengthened that they were able to engage in the conquest of the Indus country.

The earliest possible date for the Patika plate is accordingly 88—78, i. e. about 10 B.C.

After the Patika plate comes a series of Kharoṣṭhī records with dates ranging between the years 81 and 200. They are usually referred to the Vikrama era, and several scholars have now accepted Sir John Marshall's theory[1] that that reckoning goes back to the Indo-Skythian ruler Azes. That theory is based on his interpretation of the date portion of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription found by him in the Dharmarājikā stūpa in ancient Taxila, where the word *ayasa* occurs after the figures indicating the year. He takes *ayasa* to be the genitive of the name *Aya*, Azes, and thinks that this name has been added in order to show that Azes was the founder of the era used in the inscription. Now it has already been stated that such a use of a genitive is never met with in ancient inscriptions. And, moreover, the absence of every title in connexion with the word *ayasa* makes it extremely unlikely that it contains the name of a king.

Professor Rapson, who accepts Sir John's view, asks us to remember,[2] it is true, ‚that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takṣaśilā had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kuṣāṇas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, „Great King of Kings", in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning.' I am absolutely unable to agree to this argument. I fail to understand how people ‚who knew not Azes' could go on mentioning his name in their dates, without stating who this Azes was. That would, I think, only be conceivable if it had always been customary to do so, and in that case we would not be able to explain the fact that such is never the case in other inscriptions.

If Sir John's dating of the Patika plate is approximately correct, as I think it is, there is, moreover, another reason which, in my

[1] JRAS. 1914, pp. 973 ff. [2] L. c. p. 582.

opinion, makes it impossible to ascribe the establishment of the Vikrama era to Azes. The result would be that there were two different eras in the Taxila country about the year 17 B.C., one which had been current during 78 years and another which had been employed in 40 years.[1] A theory which leads to such results and which, moreover, only rests on a very uncertain interpretation of a word occurring in an inscription, is not *a priori* very likely. And it becomes absolutely impossible if it is granted that Moga was the ruling king at the time of the Patika plate.

We know from Sir John's excavations at Taxila that Moga was succeeded by Azes and Azes by Gudufara. Azes cannot accordingly have founded an era of his own forty years before a date falling within Moga's reign.

So far as I can see, the Azes theory must be abandoned, and I am still unable to understand why most scholars refuse to believe in the Indian tradition about Vikramāditya as the founder of the Vikrama era, which seems to be closely connected with Mālava and to have nothing to do with north-western India.[2]

If such be the case, the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions must be referred to a different era, and I still think that it is the same reckoning which is met with in the Patika plate.

If we abstract from the Machai and Mount Banj inscriptions, which do not contain anything which can help us to settle the chronological question, the oldest Kharoṣṭhī record after the Patika plate is the so-called[3] Takht-i-Bāhī epigraph. It is dated on the 1st

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[1] Cf. Fleet, JRAS. 1914, p. 994.

[2] Cf. my remarks SBAW. 1916, pp. 812 f.; Ep. Ind. XIV, pp. 293 f.

[3] I say „so-called', because it is possible that the stone on which it is engraved hails from Shāhbāzgarhi and not from Takht-i-Bāhī. In his first notice of the inscription in Trübner's Record, June 1873, reprinted Ind. Ant. II, p. 242, Cunningham states that the stone was found by Dr. Bellew at Shāhbāzgarhi, but later on, ASI. V, pp. 58 ff., he speaks of it as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhī. In December 1913 Mr. Hargreaves wrote to me that there are indications in the office records which point to the conclusion that Cunningham's first notice was correct. I shall henceforth speak of the record as the Gudufara inscription.

Vaiśākha 103, and if this date is referred to the era of the Patika plate, there would be an interval of 25 years between the two inscriptions. So far as I can see, this interval is quite sufficient to cover the events which had taken place between Moga and Gudufara, the king named in the later epigraph. We do not know of any other ruler between Moga and Gudufara than Azes-Azilises, and 25 years are quite sufficient to cover his reign.

It is true that the Gudufara inscription has another date as well: *maharayasa Gudufarasa vaṣa 26*, which has usually been supposed to refer it to the 26th year of the reign of Gudufara. It was Cunningham who first gave this explanation, and his statement has since been copied by scholar after scholar, without any further examination. Every epigraphist will, however, know that this translation cannot be said to be beyond doubt. The inscription only informs us of the fact that it was issued during the reign of Gudufara, in the 26th year of some era, which may start from his accession or from the beginning of the reign of some of his predecessors. If we compare the dating of other ancient records, we will find that the latter alternative is just as likely as the former one. In the Brāhmī inscription No. 149ᵃ of Professor Lüders' List we read: *mahārājasya rājātirājasya devaputrasya ṣāher Vvāsiṣkasya rājyasaṁvatsare 24*, which apparently means ‚in the 24th year of the reign of the Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi Vāsiṣka‘, but which in reality means ‚during the reign of Vāsiṣka, in the 24th year (of the Kaniṣka era)‘. There are numerous other records of the same kind, which clearly show that the genitive of a king's name does not usually mark his accession as the starting point of an era, and *a priori* it is safer to translate the beginning of the Gudufara record by ‚during the reign of the Mahārāja Gudufara, in the 26th year (of some unspecified era)‘.

We would naturally think that the era of the first date marks the coming into power of a new dynasty, coming after the line of kings of which Moga is the only one whom we know. Now there cannot be any doubt about the nationality of Moga and Gudufara.

The former was a Śaka and the latter a Parthian. In other words we have a Parthian dynasty, which had, between the Patika and the Gudufara inscriptions, replaced the Śakas, and we may safely infer that it had introduced a new era of its own. It follows, however, from the use of the old reckoning in addition to the new one, that the old Śaka era had become so firmly established in the country that it was thought expedient to record the date in Śaka, as well as in Parthian years.

It cannot be objected that the new era starts 26 years before the Gudufara inscription while the Patika plate shows that Moga was still reigning 25 years before that date. The Patika plate hails from Taxila, and the Gudufara inscription only informs us of the fact that, 25 years after the Patika date, a Parthian dynasty, which began to rule one year before that date, had pushed its power eastwards as far as Shāhbāzgarhi or Takht-i-Bāhī. The Patika plate probably belongs to the last year or years of Moga's reign, and we have no information to the effect that Gudufara and his predecessors made themselves masters of Taxila before some years afterwards.

If the first date of the Gudufara inscription refers to a Parthian era, the natural inference is that that era was introduced by the king who founded the Parthian kingdom in India. And in my opinion that can only have been Azes.

There has been some doubt about the nationality of Azes. He has sometimes been described as a Śaka and sometimes as a Parthian. So far as I can see, there cannot be any reasonable doubt: he was a Parthian and not a Śaka. That follows from the legends on the coins bearing the names of Spalirises, Spalahora, Spalyris and Spalagadama. In the first place we have the legends *βασιλεως αδελφου Σπαλιρισου* on the obverse and *maharajabhrata dhramiasa Spaliriśasa* on the reverse; then *βασιλεως μεγαλου Σπαλιρισου* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa* on the reverse; and finally *βασιλεων βασιλεως μεγαλου Σπαλιρισου* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Spaliriśasa* on the reverse. Here we have a ruler Spalirises, who began his career as the king's brother, then became Great King associated with the Great King Azes, and finally assumed the title

Great King of Kings. We must necessarily infer that Spalirises and Azes were for some time associated in the rule over eastern Irān, and that Spalirises later on became Great King of Kings in the West while Azes assumed the same imperial titles in the East.

Spalirises was certainly a Parthian, because he must be related to Spalahora or Spalyris and his son Spalagadama, the former of whom was the brother of the Parthian king Vonones.[1] It has usually been assumed that Spalirises was likewise a brother of Vonones, and that he survived him and succeeded him on the throne. His name is, however, never coupled with that of Vonones, and there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that he was an older relative, perhaps an uncle, in which case it becomes unnecessary to separate Vonones from the well-known Parthian ruler Vonones I (8—11 A.D.).

At all events, Azes was a Parthian, and he is the first Parthian king of India. If the year 26 in the Gudufara record refers to the date of his accession, and if the second date in the 103rd year belongs to the same era as that of the Patika plate, the earliest date for the establishment of Parthian rule in India will be c. 11 B.C.

It is customary to speak of several rulers intervening between Moga and Gudufara: one or two bearing the name Azes and one or two called Azilises. I do not see why that should be necessary. In the first place, Azes is a regular short form of Azilises,[2] and, in the second, the coin legends seem to me to show that Azes and Azilises was one and the same person. When we find *βασιλεως βασιλεων μεγαλου Αζου* on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayiliṣasa* on the reverse; *βασιλεως .. ημγαλου Αζιλισου* on the obverse and *maharajasa [rajaraja]sa mahatasa Ayasa* on the reverse, the use of the imperial titles on both sides raises a strong presumption in favour of identifying the two names.

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[1] Cf. the coin legends *βασιλεως βασιλεων μεγαλου Ονωνου* on the obverse and *maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa* or *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse; *Σπαλυριος δικαιου αδελφου του βασιλεως* on the obverse and *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse.

[2] Cf. Thomas, JRAS. 1906, p. 208.

I therefore think it necessary to refer the Patika plate and the remaining Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the older series to one and the same era, which cannot have been the Indian Vikrama era, but a reckoning introduced by the Śakas to commemorate the establishment of Śaka rule in India or of an independent empire in Seistān. The initial point of that era cannot fall earlier than 88 B.C., but may fall some years later. 77 years afterwards the Parthian Azes conquered the western districts of the Indian kingdom of the Śakas, and in the year 103 of the Śaka era Gudufara had replaced Azes as king. He was the last ruler of the Parthian dynasty, and he was afterwards succeeded by the Kuṣāṇas, who seem to have considered themselves as the successors of the Śakas and not of the Parthians. They did not continue the Parthian era, but used the old Śaka reckoning, till Kadphises II reconquered the old Śaka dominions outside of Kipin (i. e. parts of the Kābul valley and western Panjāb) and introduced the era which was later on known aṣ the Śaka era.

The date of the Gudufara inscription cannot, accordingly, fall earlier than 16 A.D., but may be later.

We do not know how long Gudufara remained on the throne. In the Panjtār inscription of 1st Śrāvaṇa 122, i. e. 19 years afterwards, we find a *Guṣaṇa maharaya* in the same neighbourhood, and 14 years later we meet with a *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khuṣaṇa* in the famous Taxila inscription of the year 136. There cannot be any doubt that the Kuṣāṇa ruler mentioned in those two records is one and the same person, and from a consideration of the find-places of the two records we can infer that he had, between the years 122 and 136, extended his kingdom eastwards, and the increased power he had thus acquired is reflected in the higher titles used in the later document.

There has, as is well known, been some discussion about the identity of this Kuṣāṇa ruler. Sir John Marshall was inclined[1] to think of Kujūla Kadphises, and I have from the very beginning agreed

[1] JRAS. 1914, pp. 977 f.

with him. Other scholars, however, and especially Professor Rapson,[1] hold that Vima Kadphises is the ruler intended.

Now it will be admitted by everybody that there can be no question of Vima Kadphises if the two inscriptions are referred to an era beginning shortly after 88 B.C. and not to the Vikrama era. The Panjtār inscription would then fall in or shortly after 35 A.D. and the Taxila record in or shortly after 48 A.D. We know from Chinese records that Kujūla Kadphises started on his career of conquest after the year 25 A.D. and reached the high age of 80 years. Even if we were to assume that he was forty years old in 25 A.D., which is of course extremely unlikely, he would still have been alive in 65 A.D., and most probably his death cannot have taken place before 70—80 A.D.

There are also other reasons which, in my opinion, make it impossible to think of Vima Kadphises.

We know from the Hou Han-shu, the Annals of the Later Hans, that K'iu-tsiu-k'io, i. e. Kujūla Kadphises, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, conquered four other *hi-hous*, established himself as *wang* (king) and used the dynastic title ‚king of Kuei-shuang'. It has always been recognized that this development is reflected in the titles used by Kujūla Kadphises: *kuṣaṇa yavuga*, corresponding to the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang; *maharaja rajatiraja*, corresponding to *wang*, and *maharaja mahata Kuṣaṇa*, corresponding to ‚king of Kuei-shuang'. It should also be born in mind that the title *Kuṣāṇa mahārāja*, without the addition of any personal name, is only natural in the case of the ruler who first assumed it.

We are further informed of the fact that K'iu-tsiu-k'io invaded An-si (Parthia), seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kābul), annihilated P'u-ta (probably the country about Ghazni), and Ki-pin (parts of the Kābul valley and north-western Panjāb), and that all those territories formed his empire. Both Panjtār and Taxila accordingly belong to the realm of Kujūla Kadphises, and the ‚India' which his son and

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[1] L. c. p. 582.

successor conquered must be looked for outside of this territory, and most probably in the Indus valley and in the dominions where we find the Western Kṣatrapas ruling, probably as his governors.

Vima Kadphises does not seem to have resided in India at all. According to the Hou Han-shu he appointed a general as governor of the country. And to my mind there is no doubt that this viceroy is the Soter Megas whom we know from numerous coins. According to Mr. Whitehead[1] ‚these coins are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshāwar to Mathurā. These facts point to a great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms point to a period about the Kushān conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises.' ‚Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharoshṭhī akshara *vi*.' I think that Cunningham was right in assuming that this *vi* may possibly be the initial of the king's name, though Mr. Whitehead does not accept that view. If it is correct, *vi* can scarcely refer to anybody else than Vima Kadphises.

It is probable that Mr. Whitehead is right in thinking that these coins were struck by more than one ruler. They probably cover the whole period between Kadphises I and Kaniṣka. Sir John Marshall believes[2] that there was an interval between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kaniṣka. He does not give his reasons, which are probably of an archaeological nature, but I quite agree with him, because there was, in my opinion, an interval of more than fifty years between their accession. We do not know who the Kuṣāṇa rulers were who resided at head quarters after the death of Vima Kadphises. The Soter Megas coins, however, probably belong to their viceroys in India.

[1] Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 160[2].

[2] Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1912—13, p. 8[2].

There remains one reason in favour of identifying the Kuṣāṇa ruler of the Panjtār and Taxila records with Kujūla Kadphises, which, in my opinion, is decisive: Vima Kadphises is never, in his coin legends, designated as Kuṣāṇa.

I do not overlook the fact that Sir John Marshall has found[1] some coins at Sirkap, which seem to bear the legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khuṣaṇasa yavugasa*, while the obverse carries the head of a Kuṣāṇa king ‚resembling‘ Vima Kadphises. Sir John, under some doubt, ascribes them to Kadphises II and writes: ‚The epithet *yavuga* (= Turkish *jabgou*[2]) is found on coins of Kujūla Kadphises and is supposed to have been replaced by the title *maharaja rajatiraja* after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct.‘ I cannot accept that view, and in spite of the confident assertion of a recognized authority like Professor Rapson[3] I feel convinced that the new Sirkap coins should be ascribed to Kujūla Kadphises, and that they were struck in Taxila after the conquest of that place. I cannot help feeling that there is a ring of pride in the use of the title *Khuṣana yavuga*: he who had started as a simple *yavuga* had now become master of the famous town of Taxila.

Coins of the known types of Kujūla Kadphises were found at Sirkap, in the same place as the new ones, but not a single coin of Vima Kadphises or Soter Megas. And the curious form *Khuṣaṇa* used on these coins is met with, not only in the inscription of the year 136, but also on some coins of Kujūla Kadphises with the legend *Khuṣaṇasa yavuasa Kuyula Kaphsasa sacadhramathitasa*. Some such coins were even found by Sir John at Sirkap.

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[1] L. c. pp. 44 ff.

[2] I do not believe that *yavuga* is a Turkish word at all. It has never been etymologically explained, and general considerations make it more likely that it is an Iranian title which was borrowed by the Turks than that the opposite should be the case.

[3] L. c. pp. 581 ff.

It cannot well be objected that the bust of Kujūla Kadphises never occurs on coins which can, with absolute certainty, be ascribed to him. The explanation of this fact has been given by Professor Rapson, who maintains that ‚most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley'.[1] The Sirkap coins, on the other hand, were evidently struck in Taxila, probably in imitation of the coins of Gudufara, on which the king's bust is a regular feature. The similarity with the bust of Kadphises II is not, to judge from the published plate, very striking, and in my opinion the identity of the titles is of greater weight than the use or the absence of the bust.

It has been urged against the identification of the Kuṣāṇa mahārāja of the Panjtār and Taxila records with Kujūla Kadphises that the latter shows a monogram which is characteristic of the coins of Vima Kadphises. I cannot admit that this argument carries any weight. Sir John Marshall has already drawn attention to the fact that the same monogram is occasionally used on coins of Kadphises I, and it is also met with on some coins of Zeionises. Professor Rapson is quite right that the Kadphises coins in question bear the name not of Kujūla Kadphises, but of Kujūla Kara Kadphises, but I cannot follow him in thinking that Kujūla Kara Kadphises was another member of the dynasty, who ‚seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Puṣkalāvatī, and he may have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises'. Kujūla Kara Kadphises cannot have been a subordinate ruler like the Satrap Zeionises. He is styled *maharaya rayatiraya* and *maharaya rayatiraya devaputra*, and he can, I think, not be another person than Kadphises I. We

[1] When Professor Rapson further remarks that these coins represent the ordinary currency of the Kuṣāṇas at the time of the conquest of Taxila and that Kujūla Kadphises need not have been the ruler who effected that conquest but may have been contemporary with Gudufara, I cannot by any means follow him. It was Kujūla Kadphises who conquered Parthia and Ki-pin, to which Taxila belonged, and the ‚India' invaded by his successor must, as I have already stated, be looked for in another direction.

do not know the meaning of the words *kujūla*[1] and *kara*. If the designation *kusuluka, kusulaa*, used about the Satrap Liaka and his son the Great Satrap Padika, is connected, it is possible to assume that *kujūlakara* is the full form of the word, while *kujūla* and *kusuluka* are simply short forms of the same.

I therefore feel absolutely confident that Kujūla Kadphises was the Kuṣāṇa mahārāja of the Panjtār and Taxila records, and I fail to see how Vima Kadphises can come in between him and the beginning of the later Śaka era. In other words, Vima Kadphises must have been the king who started that reckoning.

It should not be overlooked that, among all the various attempts which have been made in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era, my theory is the only one which is based on definite indications in existing sources: the Kālakācāryakathānaka combined with the Hou Han-shu. I should think that it would have been universally accepted if it were not for the suspicious attitude which European scholars usually take up against Indian tradition. But in this case it seems to me that this attitude is even less justified than elsewhere. The narrative of the Kālakācāryakathānaka is supported by the trustworthy tradition of the Hou Han-shu,[2] and moreover, the Jainas seem to have bestowed more care on chronological questions than other Indian sects.[3] The Kālakācāryakathānaka also gives the explanation of the fact that the Vikrama era was used by Śoḍāsa and that its national calendar came to exercise its influence on the wording of the dates in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the time of Kaniṣka and his successors.[4] The rule of the first Śaka conqueror in Mālva did not last long. According to some well-known Jaina verses,[5] the Śaka rule in Ujjayinī only lasted four years. Then came Vikramāditya, who

[1] I do not any more think that *kujūla* is a Turkish word, as suggested by Professor Hultzsch, ZDMG. 69, p. 176, and myself, SBAW. 1916, p. 799. See now also Professor Lüders, SBAW. 1922, pp. 260 f.

[2] Cf. SBAW. 1916, pp. 811 ff.; Ep. Ind. XIV, pp. 293 ff.

[3] See Acta Orientalia I, pp. 12 ff.

[4] See Ep. Ind. XIV, p. 139.

[5] See Acta Orientalia I, p. 33.

introduced his own era, partly in imitation of the old Śaka era and partly based on the national Indian calendar. This era spread to the Mathurā country and was naturally used by the Satrap Śoḍāsa, who ruled over an Indian people also after the overthrow of the old Śaka conquerors. The reconquest effected by Vima Kadphises has left distinct traces in the country where we find the Western Kṣatrapas, but none whatever in the country on the Yamunā. It was not till Kaniṣka appeared on the stage that those parts of India again came under Indo-Skythian rule. And at that period the Vikrama era had become so firmly established that the calendar of the Brāhmī inscriptions had to adopt its methods.

If now Vima Kadphises introduced the Śaka era, his father Kujūla Kadphises must have been born not later than 2 B.C., because he was eighty years old when he was succeeded by Vima Kadphises. At the time of the Gudufara inscription, i. e. not earlier than 16 A.D. but perhaps some few years later, he was accordingly a young man of about 18 years. Now I have some years ago[1] stated that I think that the name of Kujūla Kadphises occurs in l. 5 of that record, where we must, I think, read *erjhaṇa Kapṣasa puyae*. *Erjhaṇa* is evidently the Khotanī word *alysānai, eysānai*, which is used as a translation of Sanskrit *kumāra*, a young prince. *Erjhaṇa* accordingly stands for *erzāṇa*. Now we know that the home tongue of the Kuṣāṇas was identical with or closely related to Ancient Khotanī.[2] When we, therefore, find a prince designated as *erzāṇa*, with a Khotanī word, we must infer that he was a Kuṣāṇa. And his name *Kapṣa* reminds us so strongly of the various forms of the name of Kujūla Kadphises: *Καδφισης, Καδαφες*, Kasa, Kaphsa, Kadapha,[3] that it seems necessary to identify the *erzāṇa* Kapṣa with this ruler. From the fact that he is simply called *erzāṇa* we must infer that he was still a young man, not even a *yavuga*. And when we know that he only started on his remarkable career after 25 A.D., such must have been the case at that

[1] SBAW. 1916, p. 801.

[2] Cf. ZDMG. 68, pp. 85 ff.

[3] As to the correspondance Greek σ, Kharoṣṭhī *ṣ*, cf. *Αζιλισης* and *Ayiliṣa*.

early date. If we assume that he was about 20 years old, the date of the Gudufara inscription would fall about 18 A.D. and the starting point of the old Śaka era about 86 B.C.

So far we have been able to refer all the ancient Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to one single era, which came into being when the Śakas made their descent upon India from Seistān. We now come to four inscriptions with years higher than 300, which have caused considerable difficulty: the Loriyān Tangai inscription of the 27th Proṣṭhapada 318; the Jamālgarhī inscription of the 1st Aśvayuja (?) 356;[1] the Hashtnagar pedestal of the 5th Proṣṭhapada 384 and the Skārah Ḍherī image inscription of the 10(?)th Āṣāḍha 399.[2] I take all these inscriptions together, though they have not been treated as a definite group by other scholars.

Professor Vogel[3] referred the dates of the Loriyān Tangai and Hashtnagar epigraphs to the Seleukidan era of 312 B.C. M. Foucher has given very good reasons for not accepting that view. After mentioning the well-known coin of Platon, which is supposed to be dated in that era, he goes on to say:[4] ‚Autant l'emploi du comput grec nous paraît à sa place sur une pièce officielle et gouvernementale par essence, comme la monnaie de Platon, autant il nous semblerait difficile à justifier dans le cas d'un *ex-voto* privé, émanant d'un simple donateur privé, tel que le Buddhaghoṣa de l'inscription'.

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[1] See Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1920—21, pp. 5 ff. Pandit Daya Ram Sahni reads the name of the month as *Iṣpaila*, Dr. Thomas as *Aṣpaya*, i. e. Aśvayuja. I have not seen any reproduction of this record, but I suspect that the month is Apellaios.

[2] It seems to me that the late Dr. Fleet was certainly right in reading the year as *ekuṇacaduśatimae* (JRAS. 1907, pp. 184 f., 1913, p. 986). Dr. Stratton, JAOS. XXIV, pp. 1 ff., read *ekunaśitiśatimae* or *ekanavatiśatimae*; M. Boyer, BEFEO. IV, pp. 680 ff. *ekuṇaśitiśatimae*, which reading was accepted by M. Foucher, l. c. pp. 572 f., who informs us of the fact that M. Boyer still maintains his reading against Dr. Fleet. M. Foucher refers the date to the Śaka era. Professor Vogel agrees with M. Boyer.

[3] Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1903—04, p. 259.

[4] L. c. p. 490.

Nothing could be more sound than this reasoning, and I accept M. Foucher's dictum without any reserve. His own theory is not, however, more likely than Professor Vogel's view. He thinks that the high figures in this and in other Kharoṣṭhī records should be referred to the so-called Maurya era, a suggestion which had already been made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his valuable paper on the Scythian Period of Indian History.[1] He thinks that the Maurya era started with the year 322 and draws attention to the fact that $322 + 78 = 400$, so that the beginning of the Śaka era, which is according to him the Kaniṣka era, falls exactly 400 years after the Maurya era. He draws the conclusion that the Śaka era is simply the old Maurya era with omitted hundreds.[2]

M. Foucher admits that his whole theory stands and falls with the Maurya era. Still he does not make any attempt to disprove the strong reasons which have been adduced to show that there never existed any such reckoning.[3] Nor has he explained the curious fact that there is not the slightest reference to any such era in the inscriptions of the Maurya ruler Aśoka, where we might reasonably expect to find it used.

Moreover, his theory leads to quite impossible results. The Loriyān Tangai image is referred to the year 3 B.C., long before the Gudufara and Pāja inscriptions, a result which no epigraphist would be prepared to accept.

He himself thinks that the epoch of the Loriyān Tangai stūpa is late. He refers it to the second century A.D. But then the *point d'appui* for this dating is the reign of Kaniṣka, which according to M. Foucher began about 78 A.D. If it can be made probable, as I think it can, that Kaniṣka began to rule about 50 years later than 78 A.D., the period of the stūpa will come down into the 3rd century. And then it is difficult to see why it should not be referred to the same era as the Gudufara record.

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[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXVII, pp. 25 ff., see especially p. 67.

[2] It is curious how tenacious this idea of omitted hundreds is. I thought that it had been finally disposed of by the late Dr. Fleet, JRAS. 1913, pp. 980 ff.

[3] Cf. my remarks Acta Orientalia I, pp. 12 ff. and the literature there quoted.

M. Foucher, it is true, places the inscribed statues from Loriyān Tangai and Hashtnagar before Kaniṣka, chiefly, if I understand him right, on account of the good style of the folds of the garments. It seems to me, however, that such arguments cannot outweigh those which are derived from palaeographical considerations, at least not as long as we have not the slightest reason for assuming the existence of a Maurya era. Moreover the corrupt form *Saṃghoruma* for *Saṃghavarma* and the curious *sadaviyari* for the usual *saddhivihārin* can hardly be reconciled with such an early date.

Even if the style of the garments point to an early period, I feel some difficulty in believing that the artists of Gandhāra were not, even in the third century A. D., able to imitate ancient models with the same skill which we so often admire in the Indian craftsman of the present day. And after all, it seems to me that damaged statues, with heads and arms missing, cannot be the very best material for drawing chronological conclusions.

I therefore think that the inscriptions dated in years higher than 300 should be referred to the old Śaka era, just as the other old Kharoṣṭhī epigraphs. With regard to the Skārah Ḍherī image my dating then almost coincides with M. Foucher's. He dates it in what he considers to be the Kaniṣka era and refers it to A.D. 257—8. If the Kaniṣka era began more than 50 years after 78 A.D., we would accordingly come down to about 310 A.D. And if we refer the year 399, as I think the proper reading is, to the old Śaka era, we arrive at almost exactly the same result.

The only reason against referring these dates to the old Śaka era seems to me to be that it might seem difficult to explain why it had not been replaced by the Kaniṣka era, which is used in a series of later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. But then we have the analogy of the Gudufara inscription, which shows how firmly footed the old reckoning had become in the same neighbourhood. And, as a matter of fact, there are not any traces whatever of the Kaniṣka era, nor of Kaniṣka himself and his successors, in Yūsufzai. The capital was no more Puṣkalāvatī or Shāhbāzgarhi. It had been removed to Peshāwar,

on the high-road to the stronghold of the Kuṣāṇas in Badakshan,[1] and even the route from Taxila to Peshāwar did only skirt the Yūsufzai country. It had been reduced to a country of second-rate importance. Buddhist art and civilization went on flourishing, but the centre of political activity had been transferred to other places.

The great stumbling-block to all attempts at arriving at a consistent chronological arrangement of the dated Kharoṣṭhī records has been the theory that Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era. I have tried to show that this belief, which has no support in Indian or Chinese tradition, is unwarranted, and in a previous paper[2] I have maintained that Kaniṣka's accession cannot have taken place before 125 A.D.

I still believe that this is the earliest date for the beginning of the Kaniṣka era, and I think that it is impossible to neglect, in this connexion, the evidence of Sir John Marshall's important discoveries at Taxila,[3] which definitely place Kaniṣka in the second century A.D.

The Kaniṣka era is used in about ten Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions hailing from Bahāwalpur, the Rawalpindi District and the Kābul valley. The arrangement of the dates is of the same kind as in other Kharoṣṭhī records, while the Brāhmī inscriptions of the time of Kaniṣka and his successors differ and use the same arrangement as the Śoḍāsa epigraph of the Vikrama year 72. There cannot be more than one explanation of this fact: the calendar used in the north-western districts was different from that which was current to the east of the Panjāb, and in each case the local calendar was employed. The dated Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of this series are, without any exception, private records, and it is only the era which has anything to do with the sovereign during whose rule they were engraved.

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[1] Cf. Chavannes, T'oung Pao II. viii, p. 187[2].

[2] Acta Orientalia II, pp. 130 ff.

[3] A convenient summary of the results will be found in the introduction to his excellent Guide to Taxila. 2. edition. Calcutta 1921.

The result of our examination of the dated Kharoṣṭhī records is accordingly that they must be referred to two eras, one which was introduced by the first Śaka conquerors of India, with an initial point not earlier than 88 B.C., and another beginning with the accession of Kaniṣka, which cannot be placed earlier than 125 A.D.

These results are based on a philological examination of the ancient records themselves and on indications contained in Indian and Chinese literature, and they are strongly supported by archaeological evidence. So far as I can see, all these sources fail if we want to fix the lower limit for the beginning of the two eras.

Now it might be asked if there are no indications in the dates of the inscriptions which might make it possible for a scholar conversant with astronomy to arrive at preciser results. The ancient Indian calendar known from the Jyotiṣa could not help us in this matter. It was only at a later date that the Indians learnt to apply really scientific methods to the calculation of the calendar.

The new development begins with the Siddhāntas, in which the results of Greek astronomy have been incorporated. According to Thibaut[1] the Sūrya Siddhānta and some other Siddhāntas are probably at least some centuries older than 500 A.D., but not necessarily more than two or three centuries older. They are accordingly considerably younger than the bulk of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and it is perhaps *a priori* improbable that their methods can be used for calculations of such indications as might be contained in their dates. Professor Jacobi is of opinion that they cannot be applied, and I strongly feel how dangerous it is to deviate from him in a matter which he understands much better than I. The remarks which follow are, therefore, made with every reserve.

The scientific astronomy of the Indians was the result of a fusion of Greek and Indian notions, which was put into shape in the Siddhāntas, but which must have begun before the time of the Siddhāntas. The conditions necessary for such a fusion were given

[1] Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik, p. 45.

in the frontier districts, where Greeks and Indians met, and where the calendar, as we have seen, was to some extent framed according to Greco-Macedonian principles. In other words, we are there face to face with the initial stages of a development which finally led to the scientific methods of the Siddhāntas.

In such circumstances it will at all events be of interest to examine, at the hand of the Siddhāntas, such indications as may be found in the Kharoṣṭhī dates. And if this examination should lead us to results which are in full agreement with all known facts, that would raise a presumption in favour of the method and perhaps induce other scholars to follow up the matter.

Now there are some such indications, and my friend Dr. W. E. van Wijk, whose contributions to Indian chronology form a conspicuous feature in the contents of the two first volumes of the Acta Orientalia, has been good enough to make them the base of exact calculations. The results are in remarkable agreement with what I have been able to deduce from philological and historical considerations.

With regard to the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records, there is only one inscription which can be used, and even in its case we have to depend on philological interpretation of the text and not on any statement which carries immediate conviction to everybody. I refer to the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136.

I have already stated my reasons for not accepting Sir John Marshall's explanation of the word *ayasa* occurring in l. 1 of that record, where we read *sa 136 ayasa aṣaḍasa masasa divase 15,* i. e. according to Sir John ‚in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āṣāḍha'. If, however, *ayasa* is not the genitive of a proper name, it must necessarily be connected with the following *aṣaḍasa,* i. e. the month Āṣāḍha is characterized as *aya.* It has been suggested to explain this *aya* as corresponding to Sanskrit *ārya,* Pāli *ayya,* and Professor Jacobi mentions the possibility that *ārya* may have been used because the Aryan and not the Macedonian month was mentioned. I do not think that this ingenious explanation is right. In inscriptions written in an Indian language we would

understand it if a Macedonian month were characterized as such, but think it quite superfluous to add a corresponding remark to the Indian name. And, moreover, we know from other Kharoṣṭhī records that the use of the Indian months was the rule and not the exception.

I therefore still think that *ayasa* corresponds to Sanskrit *ādyasya*,[1] and that the inscription is, accordingly, dated on the 15th day of the ‚first' Āṣāḍha. That can only mean that there was an intercalated Āṣāḍha in the year 136 of the old Śaka era, and it has occurred to me that, if such be the case, it would be possible to state definitely which year is meant. According to the Jyotiṣa there is an intercalated Āṣāḍha every five years, according to the Siddhāntas, on the other hand, the state of things is different. If we now bear in mind that the initial point of the Śaka era cannot be earlier than 88 B.C. and that the Taxila inscription cannot be later than the first year of the Śaka era, the question will be which years between about 50 and 80 A.D. had an intercalated Āṣāḍha.

Now it will be seen from Dr. van Wijk's remarks below, p. 82, that there are only two such years, 52 and 71 A.D., respectively, and if the relative chronology sketched above is accepted, only the former can come into question. For if 71 were the year corresponding to Samvat 136, the Patika plate of the year 78 would fall in 13 A.D., only two years earlier than the Śoḍāsa inscription, and two years are evidently too short a period to cover the events intervening between the two records.

If the Julian year 52 corresponds to the year 136 of the old Śaka era, the year 1 would correspond to 84—83 B.C., presuming that the years were Kārttikādi, beginning in autumn with the month Kārttika. And this seems to lead to consistent results for the whole first series of dated Kharoṣṭhī records. It would e. g. place the Gudufara inscription in 19 A.D. That year may have been one of the first of his reign, and we have no information to the effect that

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[1] Sanskrit *ādya* does not seem to become *ajja* in any Prakrit dialect. The change of *dy* to *yy*, on the other hand, has a parallel in Pāli *uyyāna*, Sanskrit *udyāna*, which is also used in the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Aśoka edicts.

he was replaced by the Kuṣāṇas before Samvat 122, which would correspond to A. D. 38, and even then the Kuṣāṇa ruler has not assumed the imperial title and need not have advanced as far east as Taxila. It is only in the year 136, i. e. A. D. 52, that we meet with a Kuṣāṇa ruler who has assumed the imperial titles.

There is accordingly no difficulty in reconciling the date of the Gudufara inscription with the mentioning of king Gundaphara in connexion with the apostle Thomas in Christian tradition.

If we now turn to the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions dated in the Kaniṣka era, our position becomes safer. In the first place we have come nearer down to the period when the Siddhāntas were composed, and, secondly, the indications contained in two of the records under this head are absolutely clear and are not in need of any interpretation.

The first is the Zeda inscription with the date *saṃ 11 aṣaḍasa masasa di 20 utaraphaguṇe*, in the 11th year, on the 20th day of the month Āṣāḍha, in Uttaraphalgunī. Here the 20th Āṣāḍha is coupled with the nakṣatra Uttaraphalgunī, and such a constellation does not take place every year.

An analogous case is presented by the Ohind inscription, which has itself disappeared but of which Cunningham has published two different reproductions.[1] The inscription consists of two lines, the first of which seems to be incomplete: *saṃ 61 cetrasa mahasa divas*[*e*] *aṭhami di 8 iṣa chunami sa viranakha*, anno 61, on the eighth day, d. 8, of the month Caitra, at this instant the nail of the Lord (?)... In the second line there is first one letter which Cunningham could not read at all but which seems to be a clumsy reproduction of *pu*. Then follows what he read as *eṣeḍe*, but which must evidently be read *rvaṣaḍe*. The whole accordingly is *purvaṣaḍe*, in Pūrvāṣādha. I feel the more confident about this reading because Cunningham has evidently not made any attempt at drawing letters known to him but has reproduced his original as mechanically as possible.

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[1] JASB. XXIII, p. 705; ASI. V, Plate XVI No. 2.

We here again find a definite day coupled with a nakṣatra, and it is conceivable that these two indications taken together might finally settle the question about the Kaniṣka era.

Now the earliest possible date for the beginning of the Kaniṣka era is 78 A. D., the initial point of the Śaka era, and it can scarcely be supposed to fall much later than about 130 A.D. I have therefore submitted the question to Dr. van Wijk in which years between 89 and 150 A. D. the 20th Āṣāḍha coincided with Uttaraphalgunī, and in which years between 149 and 200 A. D. the 8th Caitra is coupled with Pūrvāṣāḍha.

The result of his calculations will be found below. It will be seen that, according to the Sūryasiddhānta, the initial date of the Kaniṣka era would fall in one of the years 79, 117 or 134 A. D., while, according to the Āryasiddhānta, the year 117 A.D. is the only one of these years which suits the case. Dr. van Wijk therefore justly remarks that, from the point of view of astronomy and chronology, that year is the most likely one.

I am not myself able to form an independent opinion about this side of the question. So far as I understand the matter, the result of the calculations is that all the three dates mentioned above are possible. If it is admissible to apply the methods of the Siddhāntas, a question about which I cannot judge, such an application does not, accordingly, lead to absolutely certain results.

It might be maintained that the earliest date, 79 A. D., would coincide with the epoch of the Śaka era if the years were counted as elapsed. If the results derived from Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila are accepted and if the discussion of the older Kharoṣṭhī dates in the preceding pages is not entirely unfounded, such an early epoch for the Kaniṣka era is not possible. The year 117 A. D. might perhaps be reconciled with the archaeological stratification at Taxila, but the silence of old Chinese sources raises a strong presumption against dating Kaniṣka's accession before 125 A.D.

So far as I can see, therefore, the year 134 A.D. as the initial point of the Kaniṣka era is the only one of the three which suits all

the facts, and it will be seen that this date falls within the limits drawn by Professor Lüders[1] for the case that Po-tʿiao, who sent an embassy to China in 229 A.D., should be identical with the Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva.

I readily admit the hypothetical nature of every conclusion based on such materials. I feel convinced, however, that Dr. van Wijk's careful calculations cannot, in future, be overlooked by anybody who wants to settle the question about the chronology of the Skythian period of Indian history.

Calculation of the Kharoṣṭhī dates.

By

W. E. van Wijk, Rotterdam.

Among the thirteen dates which Professor Konow has submitted to me from the inscriptions in the older series there is only one which gives a clue as to the epoch of the era, *viz.* the Taxila silver scroll mentioning: 15. of first Āṣāḍha 136.

Under the limitations given by Konow, the first problem to be solved is: which years between A.D. 50 and 80 had an intercalary Āṣāḍha?

The intercalation of a month presupposes a calendaric system as taught till now by the *karaṇas,* based on the Siddhāntas; none of the known Siddhāntas, however, dates back as far as the inscription under discussion. All authorities agree as to the mean system for the calculation of intercalations being the only one applicable.

As we have not at our disposal the full elements of the original Sūryasiddhānta (which would have been the most reliable authority) we can only work by the present Sūryasiddhānta or by the first Āryasiddhānta, in the hope that they may have preserved the oldest elements up to our days. The probability that the result thus obtained

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[1] SBAW. 1912, p. 830.

will be in accordance with the result which would be obtained by following the original Sūryasiddhānta is very great, as we know, in the first place, that Āryabhaṭa was a follower of the astronomical system of the Sūryasiddhānta, and as the mean intercalations of months, according to the present Sūryasiddhānta and to the first Āryasiddhānta must be the same.

To prove this last statement, the reader must allow me to remind him of the fact that a mean intercalation of a month follows directly from the distance in time of the first mean new moon of a year from mean Meṣasaṃkrānti, resp. from the ‚base' (cf. e. g. Acta Orientalia II, 239), therefore from the difference:

$$\left(n\frac{A}{a} - m\frac{A}{p}\right) \text{ or } \left(n\frac{S}{s} - m\frac{S}{q}\right) < 1 \text{ synodic mean month,}$$

if A be the number of days in a yuga, a the number of sid. rev. of the sun and p that of synodic rev. of the moon according to the Āryasiddhānta and S, s and q the same according to the Sūryasiddhānta; n denoting the year K. Y. and m a whole.

Now there will be a difference possible as to which month has to be intercalated by the Ārya- or the Sūryasiddhānta if:

$$n\frac{A}{a} - m\frac{A}{p} - \left(n\frac{S}{s} - m\frac{S}{q}\right)$$

differs from 0. Now we know: $a = s$, $p = q$ but $S > A$ (resp. 1577917828 and 1577917500); we put $S = A + d$ and find for the difference quoted

$$d\left(\frac{m}{p} - \frac{n}{a}\right).$$

Now m is nearly $\frac{p}{a}n$; we can therefore write for the difference:

$$d\left(\frac{pn}{ap} - \frac{n}{a}\right) = 0, \text{ q. e. d.}$$

In our case, it is therefore sufficient to work by the Sūryasiddhānta only.

EXCURSION.

Robert Sewell, in his conscientious work on the different Siddhāntas, has yet allowed a mistake to spoil the accuracy of his tables on the first Āryasiddhānta, mean system (chapt. 303—310). In fact, he assumed the duration of a synodic revolution of the moon in a yuga to be the same for the first Āryasiddhānta and for the present Sūryasiddhānta, whilst the true value for

the first Āryasiddhānta is 29.53058180757169394... days,
„ present Sūryasiddhānta is 29.53058794607171822.... „ .

The difference is only small; but it is large enough to conclude in certain cases to the intercalation of the wrong month; besides it renders all the values for *a* incorrect. The following list of corrected intercalated months does not pretend to be exhaustive, but is presumably so:

Expired year K. Y.	Mean intercalated month
3817	Āśvina
3893	Bhadrapada
3969	Śrāvaṇa
4004	Kārttika
4045	Āṣāḍha
4080	Āśvina
4121	Jyeṣṭha
4156	Bhadrapada
4197	Vaiśākha
4232	Śrāvaṇa
4273	Caitra
4308	Āṣāḍha
4348	Phālguna; 4349 is a common year
4384	Jyeṣṭha
4424	Māgha
4460	Vaiśākha
4500	Pauṣa

The discrepancy between the result obtained by working after the Sūryasiddhānta and the (supposed) Āryasiddhānta for the first nine of these years has already been stated by Sewell in footnotes to his table LXXVI.

* * *

I now find that there are only two years in the period A.D. 50—80, which contain a mean intercalated Āṣāḍha, *viz.* the expired years of the Kaliyuga 3153 and 3172; as I am informed by Professor Konow, the identification which has the greatest amount of probability is

Old Śaka year 136 = K.Y. 3153 = A.D. 52; therefore
" " " 1 = " 3018 = " ÷83 (B.C. 84).

I think that the years of this era have to be counted as current ones, for the following reason: among the thirteen dates there are two which give Macedonian names to the months, and we know for certain that the Macedonians counted their *Aera actiaca* by current years, as is practically the case with every historical era.

And as the Macedonians began their year in October, it is again probable that the years of the era must be considered as Kārttikādi.

Among the dates submitted to me there are no less than eight showing a serial number above 15, which would imply that they are reckoned not by tithis but by days, which is uncommon. Finally, for reasons expounded by Konow, I took the months to be *pūrṇimānta*.

Under all these suppositions we would get the following list of corresponding dates:

1	Taxila plate	5 Panemos 78	June 6 B.C.
2	Machai	... 81	4/3 B.C.
3	Mount Banj	... 102	18/19 A.D.
4	Takht-i-Bāhī	1 Vaiśākha 103	10 March 19 A.D.
5	Pāja	15 Śrāvaṇa 111	23 June 27 A.D.
6	Kaldarra	20 Śrāvaṇa 113	5 July 29 A.D.
7	Panjtār	1 Śrāvaṇa 122	7 June 38 A.D.

8	Taxila silver scroll	15 of first Āṣāḍha 136	17 May 52 A.D.
9	Dewal	8 Vaiśākha 200	24 March 116 A.D.
10	Loriyān Tangai	27 Proṣṭhapada 318	27 August 234 A.D.
11	Jamalgarhi	1 Apellaios ? 359	November 275 A.D.
12	Hashtnagar	5 Proṣṭhapada 384	7 June 300 A.D.
13	Skārah Ḍherī	10 or 20 Āṣāḍha 399	28 April or 8 May 315 A.D.

REMARKS: We assumed Āṣāḍha in the old Śaka era to correspond to Āṣāḍha, Caitrādi K.Y. years, the last beginning in February of the years A.D. This implies that the Kārttikādi-years begin about October of the years before. To find, therefore, the years A.D. corresponding to the beginning of the old Śaka-years a given Śaka-year has to be diminished by 85.

In no. 10 and 12 I considered Proṣṭhapada identical with Bhadrapada; for this identity I found only one small indication in Swamikannu's book (p. 52): Bhadrapada pūrṇimā: Prauṣṭhapadī pūrṇimā. The last date, no. 13, is a date of an intercalated month; as the inscription itself does not mention the fact, we have to consider it as a date of the second, the *nija* Āṣāḍha.

The reader will remark for himself that there remains a good deal of conjecture in these reductions.

* * *

Among the dates in the Kaniṣka era, there are two which allow of a further investigation as to the epoch of the era, *viz.* nos. 2: Āṣāḍha 20 of year 11 in Uttaraphalgunī, and 9: Caitra 8 of year 61 in Pūrvāṣāḍha. Within the limits again proposed by Konow, the first problem now to be solved is: in which years during the period 89—150 A.D. did the 20th of Āṣāḍha fall in Uttaraphalgunī? We may say from the beginning that it looks uncertain if such a year can be discriminately determined, as the mean nakṣatra-period is 27.3216742.. days and the distance in time between two consecutive ‚same data' (e.g. between Āṣāḍha 20 year n and Āṣāḍha 20 year $n+1$) varies between 353—355 and 382—384 days, numbers being near to multiples of the nakṣatra-period (355.1817641, 382.5034383). It is therefore to be expected that either no year at all or a great number of them will answer the condition stipulated.

Again we shall consider the years to be taken as current ones, the months as *pūrṇimānta,* and we shall work after the mean system, with the elements of the present Sūryasiddhānta.

To determine the distance in time of the beginning of a nakṣatra-period from the base, I made use of a table which I hope will be printed in due course in my series of articles on the principles of new tables on Hindu chronology in the Acta Orientalia; as it is still unpublished, I now insert a few words on its construction. According to the Sūryasiddhānta, there are 57753336 sideric rev. of the moon in 1 yuga; the duration of a sideric month is therefore 27.321674162683866... days. The moon's longitude at the beginning of the Kaliyuga was 0. A sideric year is 17.2446817... shorter than 14 complete nakṣatra-periods; the number 17.244.. is our decimal epact for the calculation of nakṣatras. Our tables start from a moment which lies 32.5234665 days before the beginning of the K.Y.; we shall therefore find the distances of the beginning of the first nakṣatra-period of a year by adding multiples of the decimal epact to 32.5234665 and subtracting multiples of 27.321.. from the sum obtained, to make the result smaller than the sideric month. From the result thus obtained may be found the moments of beginning (reckoned from the base) of all the sideric months of that year, and from the beginning of a sideric month that of any desired nakṣatra. Now there are, as is sufficiently known, three systems of counting the nakṣatras in use; it seems natural that the equal-space system was the first to be used in a calendar based on computation after a system of mean movements. Cf. also Fleet in Ind. Ant. 39 (1910), p. 255. In the mean system the nakṣatra Uttaraphalgunī commences 11.1310524 days after the first nakṣatra (Aśvinī); it ends 1/27 sideric month later *viz.* 12.1429663 days after the beginning of Aśvinī.

Now the month Āṣāḍha begins, after the *pūrṇimānta*-system, in a common year at sunrise of the day next following the fourth full moon of the year; if the year contains an intercalated month previous to Āṣāḍha, at the fifth full moon. Therefore the full moon determining the beginning of Āṣāḍha is found by adding $2^1/_2$ or $3^1/_2$ lunations of 29.5305879.. days to the distance of the first new moon from the base, our tables being constructed after the *amānta*-system.

Now take the base to fall on day m of the Julian year + a fraction of a day after mean sunrise and the full moon determining the beginning of Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimānta* on day n after the base + a fraction f' of a day. The number $n+f'$, it may be understood, includes the mentioned $2^1/_2$ resp. $3^1/_2$ mean synodic months. Therefore the Julian date of the full moon is day $m+n+f+f'$ and Āṣāḍha begins at sunrise of Julian day:

$$m+n+1 \qquad \text{if } f+f'<1$$
$$m+n+2 \qquad \text{if } f+f'>1.$$

Day 20 of Āṣāḍha begins 19 days later, and the number of days elapsing from the base till the beginning of Āṣāḍha 20 is:

$$m+n+1+19-(m+f)=n+19+(1-f) \qquad \text{if } f+f'<1.$$
$$m+n+2+19-(m+f)=n+20+(1-f) \qquad \text{if } f+f'>1.$$

If we subtract from the result the number of days that elapse from the base to the beginning of the first sideric month of the year, we shall find a number of days, which number gives us the desired criterion. For if it amounts to an integer number of times 27.32167. + a number lying between the limits mentioned above, *viz.* 11.131 . and 12.142 . the nakṣatra Uttaraphalgunī will have been current at sunrise of Āṣāḍha 20.

An example to illustrate this will not be considered superfluous:

In the year K.Y. exp. 3191 the distance of the first mean new moon from the base is found by means of table VIII (Acta Orientalia II, p. 249) to be 5.076 days, using three decimals only. This implies (ibid. p. 240) that the year contains a mean intercalated Āṣāḍha. The full moon determining the beginning of Āṣāḍha I falls therefore $2^1/_2$ lunations after the first new moon, that of Āṣāḍha II $3^1/_2$, or resp. 78.902 and 108.433 days after the base.

The Julian date of the base is found by means of table VI (ibid. p. 247) to fall on Julian day 43.918 (of the Julian year

3191 — 3101 = 90 A. D.) or $f = 0.918$. The Julian date of the full moon determining the beginning of Āṣāḍha I is now:

$$43 + 0.918 + 78.902 \text{ (day of A. D. 90)}$$

or Āṣāḍha I begins at sunrise of day 43 + 80, which is after the base:

$$43 + 80 - (43 + 0.918) = 79.982$$

and day 20 of Āṣāḍha I begins 79.082 + 19 = 98.082 days after the base.

Now I found by means of the table for the nakṣatras, which has not yet been printed, for the distance in time between the base and the beginning of the first sideric month in the year 3191 : 7.130 days. The time elapsed since this moment at the beginning of I Āṣāḍha 20 is therefore:

$$98.082 - 7.130 = 90.952 \text{ days.}$$

Now 90.952 is 3 times 27.321.. (sideric month) + 8.987 days; it is the nakṣatra Áśleṣa beginning 8.095.. days after the beginning of the sideric month (Aśvinī) which was current at sunrise of Āṣāḍha I 20.

Now try for Āṣāḍha II of the same year. We found for the Julian date of the full moon determining the beginning of that month:

$$43 + 0.918 + 108.433$$

and Āṣāḍha II begins at sunrise of day 43 + 110 which is after the base:

$$43 + 110 - (43 + 0.918) = 109.082$$

and Āṣāḍha II 20 commences 19 days later or 128.082 days after the base. At that moment have elapsed 128.082 — 7.130 = 120.952 days since the moon entered its first nakṣatra Aśvinī for the first time in that year. Now 120.952 = 4 times 27.321.. + 11.765; this implies that the moon had entered his house Uttaraphalgunī already at sunrise of Āṣāḍha II 20.

From this point of view the year K. Y. 3191 might therefore correspond to the year 11 of the Kaniṣka era. That every reader may judge for himself, I collected all the necessary data in a table, the construction of which is no such bad work as it looks, as it

can be done by machinery, which is one of the greatest merits of the decimal system. In this table now:

A, denotes the year K. Y. exp.,
B, the number of days elapsing between the base and the first mean new moon of the year,
C, the mean intercalated month if there be one,
D, the serial number of Āṣāḍha (I),
E, the number of days elapsing between the base and the full moon, determining the beginning of Āṣāḍha, our $n + f'$,
F, the decimals of the Julian date of the base, our f,
G, if $f + f' <$ or > 1; if left blank it means $>$,
H, the number of days elapsing between sunrise, marking the beginning of Āṣāḍha 20 and the base,
K, the number of days elapsing between the base and the beginning of the first nakṣatra Aśvinī of the year,
L, the difference $H - K$.

If now L is lying between:

92.465	and	93.965	or	119.786	and	121.286
92.590	„	94.108	„	119.901	„	121.429
93.096	„	94.108	„	120.417	„	121.429

the moon will be in the nakṣatra Uttaraphalgunī at sunrise of day 20 of Āṣāḍha resp. for

the system of Brahmagupta,
the system of Garga,
the equal-space system

of counting the nakṣatras.

In the last column of the table under the heading ‚Result‘ I denoted the years which fulfill the condition for the system of Brahmagupta by *B*, for the system of Garga by *G* and for the equal-space by *E*. As I have already remarked, I think that we have further to investigate the *E*-years only.

TABLE I.

A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*K*	*L*	Result
3190	15.968		4	89.794	·660		109.340	17.207	92.133	
3191	5.076	Āṣāḍha		78.902	·918		98.082	7.130	90.952	*B G E* (Āṣāḍha II)
				108.433	·918		128.082		120.952	
3192	23.715			97.541	·177	<	116.822	24.374	92.449	
3193	12.824	Phālguna		86.650	·436		106.564	14.297	92.267	
3194	1.932			75.758	·695		95.305	4.220	91.085	
3195	20.571			94.397	·953		114.047	21.465	92.582	*B*
3196	9.679	Mārgaś.		83.505	·212	<	102.788	11.388	91.400	
3197	28.318			102.144	·471	<	121.529	1.311	120.218	*B G*
3198	17.426			91.252	·730	<	110.270	18.556	91.714	
3199	6.535	Śrāvaṇa		80.361	·989		100.011	8.479	91.532	
3200	25.174			99.000	·247	<	118.753	25.723	93.030	*B G*
3201	14.282			88.108	·506	<	107.494	15.646	91.848	
3202	3.390	Vaiśākha	5	106.747	·765		126.235	5.569	120.666	*B G*
3203	22.029		4	95.855	·024	<	114.976	22.814	92.162	
3204	11.137	Pauṣa		84.963	·282		104.718	12.737	91.981	
3205	0.246			74.072	·541	<	93.459	2.660	90.799	
3206	18.885			92.711	·800		112.200	19.905	92.295	
3207	7.993	Āśvina		81.819	·059	<	100.941	9.828	91.113	
3208	26.632			100.458	·317	<	119.683	27.073	92.610	*B G*
3209	15.740			89.566	·576		109.424	16.996	92.428	
3210	4.848	Āṣāḍha		78.674	·835		98.165	6.919	91.246	*B G* (Āṣāḍha II)
				108.205	·835		128.165		121.246	
3211	23.487			97.313	·094	<	116.906	24.163	92.743	*B G*
3212	12.596	Phālguna		86.422	·352	<	105·648	14.086	91.562	
3213	1.704			75.530	·611		95.389	4.009	91.380	
3214	20.343			94.169	·870		114.130	21.254	92.876	*B G*
3215	9.451	Mārgaś.		83.277	·129	<	102.871	11.177	91.694	
3216	28.090			101.916	·387		121.613	1.100	120.513	*B G E*
3217	17.198			91.024	·646	<	110.354	18.345	92.009	
3218	6.307	Śrāvaṇa		80.133	·905		100.095	8.268	91.827	
3219	24.945			98.771	·164	<	117.836	25.512	92.324	

TABLE I (Continuation).

A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*K*	*L*	Result
3220	14.054			87.880	·422		107.578	15.435	92.143	
3221	3.162	Vaiśākha	5	106.519	·681		126.319	5.358	120.961	*B G E*
3222	21.801		4	95.627	·940		115.060	22.603	92.457	
3223	10.909	Pauṣa		84.735	·199	<	103.801	12.526	91.275	
3224	0.018			73.844	·457		93.543	2.449	91.094	
3225	18.656			92.482	·716		112.284	19.694	92.590	*B G*
3226	7.765	Āśvina		81.591	·975		101.025	9.617	91.408	
3227	26.404			100.230	·234	<	119.766	26.861	92.905	*B G*
3228	15.512			89.338	·492	<	108.508	16.784	91.724	
3229	4.620	Jyeṣṭha	5	107,977	·751		127.248	6.707	120.542	*B G E*
3230	23.259		4	97.085	·010	<	116.990	23.952	993.038	*B G*
3231	12.367	Phālguna		86.193	·269	<	105.731	13.875	91.856	
3232	1.476			75.302	·527	<	94.473	3.798	90.675	
3233	20.155			93.941	·786		113.214	21.043	92.171	
3234	9.223	Kārttika		83.049	·045	<	102.955	10.966	91.989	
3235	27.862			101.688	·304	<	120.696	0.889	119.807	*B*
3236	16.970			90.796	·563		110.437	18.133	92.304	
3237	6.078	Śrāvaṇa		79.904	·821		99.179	8.056	91.123	
3238	24.717			98.543	·080	<	117.920	25.301	92.619	*B G*
3239	13.826			87.652	·339	<	106.661	15.224	91.437	
3240	2.934	Caitra	5	106.291	·598		126.402	5.147	121.255	*B G E*
3241	21.573		4	95.399	·856		115.144	22.392	92.752	*B G*
3242	10.671	Pauṣa		84.497	·115	<	103.885	12.315	91.570	
3243	29.320			103.146	·374	<	122.626	2·238	120.388	*B G*
3244	18.428			92.254	·633		112.367	19.483	92.884	*B G*
3245	7.537	Āśvina		81.363	·891		101.109	9.406	91.703	
3246	26.175			100.001	·150	<	119.850	26.650	93.200	*B G E*
3247	15.284			89.110	·409	<	108.591	16.573	92.018	
3248	4.392	Jyeṣṭha	5	107.749	·668		127.332	6.496	120.836	*B G E*
3249	23.031		4	96.857	·926		116.074	23.741	92.333	

The table shows that there are seven years in the period investigated which answer the condition. But we have the second criterion: date no. 9 requires the eighth day of Caitra to begin whilst the moon is in Pūrvāṣāḍha; we have to draw up a table similar to our first table, but now for these seven years only. In this second table, under the heading *K*, I have given the number of days elapsing between the base and the first Pūrvāṣāḍha; for the rest the table is *mutatis mutandis* similar to the first. *A* denotes the year K. Y. exp. $n + 50$.

TABLE II.

A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*K*	*L*	Result
3241	21.573	..	1	6.808	·856	>	15.144	14.296	0.848	*E*
3266	15.055	..		0.290	·325	<	7.675	8.267	—0.582	
3271	19.658	..		4.893	·619	>	12.381	12.525	—0.144	
3279	21.116	..		6.351	·689	>	14.311	13.874	0.437	*E*
3290	19.430	..		4.665	·535	>	12.465	10.782	1.683	
3296	13.141	..		—1.624	·088	>	6.912	6.495	0.417	*E*
3298	20.888	..		6.123	·605	<	13.395	12.131	1.264	

The criterion is here: $H - K$ must be between 0 and 1.012, the 27th part of a mean sideric month.

The table shows that there remain three years which fulfill the condition. Again I am informed by Professor Konow that the correspondance:

Kaniṣka-era 11 — 61 = K. Y. exp. 3246 — 3296

has the greatest internal probability.

We shall now try the first Āryasiddhānta.

As we have no absolutely reliable tables for mean reckoning with the first Āryasiddhānta, we shall calculate the necessary data from the bottom. The mean sideric month, according to the first Āryasiddhānta is 27.3216684833582600З.. days, the sideric year is 365.2586805555... days. Now 3246 years, to begin with that year, count 1185629.67708333... days; this proves to be 21.4484205.. d. smaller than the next greater number of days in an integer number

of sideric months. In the same way we find that an integer (40150) number of synodic months of 29.53058180757169394... days each is 23.1822... days more than 3246 sideric years; the year 3246 is a common year and Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimānta* begins $1^1/_2$ lunation after the first new moon or 67.4780 days after mean Meṣa. Meṣa was found to begin .67708.. of a day after mean sunrise (the epoch of the Āryasiddhānta is sunrise) and Āṣāḍha 20 falls 86.32292.. days after mean Meṣasaṃkrānti; this diminished by the 21.4484.. found above leaves 10.231.. and 2 sideric months. But Uttaraphalgunī begins 11.131.. days after the beginning of Aśvinī, which implies that the year 3246 K.Y. exp. does not answer the condition. The same is the case with 3191; the only year which fits both for the Sūryasiddhānta and for the Āryasiddhānta being 3229.

It is interesting to know if the year 3279 K.Y. exp. also fulfils the condition: the 8th day of Caitra falls in Pūrvāṣāḍha.

I find indeed that in that year the moon has entered Pūrvāṣāḍha a little (0.09749.. days) before sunrise of Caitra 8; but in the year 3296 Caitra 8 has commenced nearly half a day (0.48308 d.) before the moon entered Pūrvāṣāḍha.

From the chronological point of view, therefore, the following concordance seems acceptable:

Caitra Kaniṣka era current 61 = Caitra K.Y. exp. 3279

or the beginning of the current Kārttikādi years of the Kaniṣka-era fall in the years A.D.: $n + 116$.

POST-SCRIPTUM.

I take it for certain that for the most remote times the authority of the Sūryasiddhānta is greater than that of the Āryasiddhānta, which was certainly not composed before about 500 A.D. Venkatesh Bapuji Ketkar in the latest work on Indian chronology (Bombay 1923) gives a résumé of the claims of the Sūryasiddhānta to priority. Difficult to conciliate with this statement is the information on p. 110 of the same book that Āryabhaṭṭa is the supposed author of the original Sūryasiddhānta. At all events, it is noteworthy that this author, evidently well informed in matters of Indian historical chronology, plainly speaks about chronological systems—and even very intricate ones—in use in India from B.C. 1193 to 291 A.D.

The arguments given by Konow, p. 78, against the year 117 seem to carry more weight than the fact that that year fulfills certain arithmetical conditions

The sacrificial stakes of Īsāpur.

By

W. Caland, Utrecht.

In his paper entitled: ‚The sacrificial posts of Isāpur' (Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1910—11), which is so highly interesting to all those who occupy themselves with the Vaidic ritual, Professor Vogel, after having pointed out that these stone *yūpas* are monumental copies of wooden posts, such as were in use in ancient Indian sacrifices, and after having answered most of the questions connected with these, concludes as follows: ‚The Īsāpur pillars show one feature to which I find no reference in the ritual, namely, the wreath hanging down from the top of the column.' He then assumes that this wreath represents the garland which was hung around the neck of the victim. But, as the ritual knows nothing of such a garland, I propose another explanation. After the sacrificial stake has been erected, a threefold rope is slung around it. This is not the rope destined for binding the victim to the post, for this one is bound around the animal and by means of it the victim is fastened to the sacrificial post, but, when the animal is going to be slaughtered, this rope remains fastened to its neck or head, and is afterwards thrown away on the heap of rubbish. The rope which we see on our stone columns then is, I say, not the rope destined for binding the victime: it is the other rope, the threefold one, which has to remain on the *yūpa*. A Soma sacrifice is combined at least with two animal sacrifices: on the day preceding the soma pressing a he-goat is slaughtered in honour of Agni-Soma; on the pressing day itself a so called *savana*-

animal is sacrificed to Agni. Now we learn from Baudhāyana (Śrs. VII. 9 and cf. Rudradatta on Āp. XII. 18. 12) that at the pressing day, when the Adhvaryu is going to sling a new *trivṛt raśanā* on the *yūpa*, the former one is removed upwards. It seems probable that what Professor Vogel explained as a wreath at the top of the columns represents the rope of the preceding day, these posts having been erected after the performance of a *sattra,* i. e. a twelve days' Soma sacrifice.—Two more observations may here be made about these pillars. Firstly: The reason why these stakes and just only these, were erected as a kind of memorial, can likewise be deduced from the ritual. From Kauṣ. Br. 2 we know that, after the completion of a sacrifice, the *yūpa* is left standing, and that this was the common practice is proved by a passage quoted from the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā in a note on my translation of Āpastamba VII. 28. 4. In the second place, I find a difficulty, which Professor Vogel means to have solved, in the shape of the *caṣāla* or upper part of the *yūpa*, for according to universal practice the *caṣāla* was shaped in another fashion than the Īsāpur pillars represent it; it should be bent in at the middle *(madhye saṃnata, madhyasaṃgṛhīta)*, in the form of a mortar (Schol. on Kāty VI. 1. 28). The passage cited by Professor Vogel from Śat. Br. XI. 7. 3. 3 does not refer to the *caṣāla,* but to the *yūpa* itself. So, for one difficulty removed (if, at least, my surmise be right), another one is substituted.

Persische Trinkgefäße aus Glas.

Von

F. W. v. Bissing, Haag.

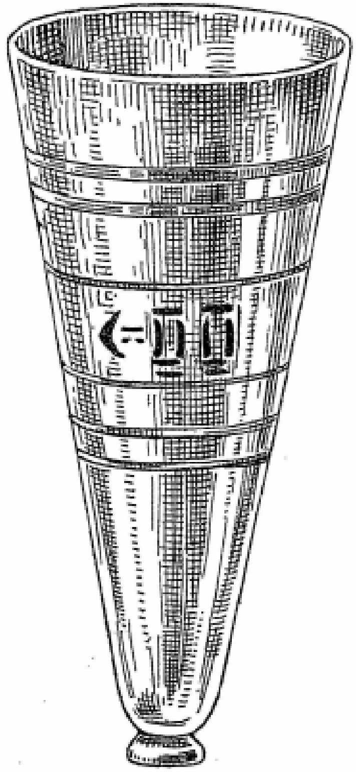
Bei Aristophanes Acharnes 73 f. lesen wir:

ξενιζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν
ἐξ ὑαλίνων ἐκπωμάτων καὶ χρυσίων
ἄκρατον οἶνον ἡδύν . . .

Es ist anscheinend die älteste Stelle an der Trinkgläser erwähnt werden, die in der griechischen Welt vor Alexander mindestens nicht verbreitet waren. Und der Gesandte erwähnt die Gläser offenbar mit besonderem Nachdruck. Nach Kisa, Das Glas im Altertum, I, S. 105 f. soll Athenäus berichten, ‚daß die Perser zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen aus Glasgefäßen zu trinken pflegten'.[1] Kisa kennt offenbar ebensowenig wie die anderen mir bekannt gewordenen Behandlungen der Geschichte des Glases persische Gläser aus der Zeit vor Alexander. Darum nimmt er an, sie seien wie das bekannte Gefäß mit Sargons Namen (bei dem auch die Form auf solche Herkunft weist) aus Ägypten eingeführt. Und doch waren persische Gläser mit achämenidischen Inschriften, die leider so zerstört sind, daß ihre Beziehung auf einen bestimmten König unmöglich scheint, seit 1892 in Dieulafoys Acropole de Suse, S. 434 veröffentlicht. Die Form dieses spitzen Kelches mit Fuß erinnert zunächst an gewisse syrische Trinkgläser, wie sie in den fränkischen Bechern (Kisa, I, S. 102) fortleben. Bei Kisa auf Formtafel E des III. Bandes sind einige hierhergehörige Becherformen abgebildet, ohne daß eine gerade in

[1] Trotz aller Mühe habe ich bei Athenäus weder im IV. noch im XI./XII. Buch die Stelle finden können.

Syrien häufige Form mit etwas weiterem Kelch und höherem Fuß wiedergegeben wäre. S. 203 (Band I) bildet Kisa einen sogenannten Hornbecher ab. Der Name rührt wohl daher, daß man aus Hörnern Gefäße ähnlicher Form herstellte. In der Tat läßt sich nun diese Trinkgefäßform auf altmesopotamische Trinkbecher, die man sich aus Horn oder in einfacherer Art auch aus Ton denken muß, zurückführen: Urnina hält einen solchen Becher auf dem Relief Heuzey, Antiquités Chaldéennes, N. 8 in der Hand, das Muschelrelief a. a. O. N. 222 gehörte vielleicht zu einem ähnlichen Gefäß,[1] auch die Form der in dieser Zeitschrift I, S. 200, 205 wiedergegebenen Gefäße aus Susa und Ninive (darunter eines mit Fuß, das zeitlich dem persischen Becher ziemlich nahe steht) läßt sich vergleichen. In Ägypten hat diese Becherform niemals eine größere Rolle gespielt; die mesopotamische Keramik kennen wir noch zu wenig, um aus ihr mit Bestimmtheit den persischen Glasbecher ableiten zu können, dem der Fuß etwa in Assyrien gewachsen wäre. Aber auf die Zusammenhänge darf man hinweisen und betonen, daß wie unsere älteste Quelle über Trinkgläser diese den Persern zuweist, so auch unsere älteste monumentale Überlieferung einen persischen Trinkbecher bietet. Denn die Bestimmung der Glasbecherchen der Prinzessin Nesichons aus der XXI. ägyptischen Dynastie (z. B. Kisa, I, S. 13) steht keineswegs fest. Es liegt kein Grund vor, warum die Perser nicht selber



Persisches Glas.
Achämenidenzeit.

[1] Man mag auch noch den altmesopotamischen Becher aus Nippur bei Hilprecht, Beltempel zu Nippur, S. 68 vergleichen.

Glas hergestellt haben sollten; Dieulafoy schreibt wenigstens noch eine von ihm gefundene viereckige Flasche (außer den zwei Bechern) der Achämenidenzeit zu (Acropole de Suse, S. 432). Da hier keine Inschrift die Datierung sichert und die Form auffallend jung aussieht, ist aber Zurückhaltung geboten.

Es mag erlaubt sein bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß der von Newberry, Journal of Egyptian Archaeol., VI, 155 mit großer Entschiedenheit für Millefioriglas erklärte Anhänger mit dem liegenden Ochsen aus Daschur (XII. Dynastie?) tatsächlich aus einer weichen bunten Paste besteht, zu deren Schutz das Stück (was bei Glas sinnlos wäre) mit einem Feldspatblatt bedeckt ist. Diese meine alte Auffassung wird jetzt endgültig bestätigt durch den Bericht von Carter und Mace im ersten Band S. 118 ihres ‚Tomb of Tut-anch-amen'. Dort, heißt es, seien mehrere Schmuckstücke gefunden aus ‚a composition, hitherto unknown—translucent fibrous calcite underlaid with coloured paste, in appearance for all the world like millefiori glass'. An den Fund aus Daschur haben die Herren nicht gedacht, ihr Bericht erklärt aber Newberrys Irrtum, macht andererseits seine geschichtlichen Schlüsse, namentlich in Bezug auf das Berliner Fragment aus Sammlung Tigrane mit dem Namen des Lamares, hinfällig. Dies bleibt hellenistisch-römisch.

Zur Ḳurânexegese.

Von

F. Buhl, Kopenhagen.

Sura 9, 1 ff. Der Anfang der inhaltsreichen 9. Sure enthält eine Unklarheit, die noch nicht auf befriedigende Weise behoben ist. Der erste Vers lautet: ‚eine *barâ'a*[1] von Allâh und seinem Sendboten, gegen diejenigen Heiden gerichtet, mit denen Ihr einen Vertrag gemacht habt.' Ihnen wird V. 2 eine Frist von vier Monaten eingeräumt, in welcher sie unbehelligt durchs Land ziehen dürfen.[2] Dann heißt es V. 3 f.: ‚eine Kundgebung von Allâh und seinem Sendboten an die Menschen am Tage der großen *ḥaǧǧ*: Allâh und sein Sendbote sagen sich los (*barî'*) von den Heiden .... mit Ausnahme derjenigen, mit denen Ihr einen Vertrag gemacht habt, und die Euch nichts entzogen (den Vertrag nicht verletzt) haben, denen sollt Ihr den Vertrag halten bis zur festgesetzten Frist; wenn aber die heiligen Monate abgelaufen sind, dann bekämpft sie, wo Ihr sie treffet, usw.' Hier werden also nach dem einfachen Wortlaut V. 1 f. die Heiden, die eine Vereinbarung mit dem Propheten getroffen haben, nach viermonatlicher Frist mit Krieg bedroht, während nach V. 3 f. dieselben Heiden ausgenommen werden und verschont bleiben bis zum Ablauf der mit ihnen abgemachten Zeitfristen.

Daß dieser Widerspruch früh empfunden wurde, sieht man aus Ibn Isḥâḳs Paraphrase der Sure,[3] wo er einen Unterschied zwischen

[1] ‚Lossagung', durch die man sich früherer Verpflichtungen entledigt, z. B. wenn man einen Klienten nicht mehr schützen wollte. Hier bedeutet es so viel als eine Kriegserklärung.

[2] *sâḥa* steht besonders von Wanderungen zu religiösen Zwecken.

[3] Ibn Hišâm 919 ff.

den beiden Absätzen aufzustellen sucht. V. 1 f. bezieht er auf einen allgemeinen Vertrag zwischen Muhammed und den Heiden, worin er ihnen freien Zutritt zum mekkanischen Heiligtum und Unverletzlichkeit während des heiligen Monats zusichert. Diese Vereinbarungen sollen nun nach dem Ablauf von vier Monaten annulliert werden. Die Verträge V. 3 f. bezieht er dagegen auf besondere Abmachungen zwischen dem Propheten und einzelnen Stämmen, die bis zu festgesetzten Zeitfristen giltig waren, und die zu halten er verspricht, falls sie von den betreffenden Stämmen selbst nicht verletzt werden. Diese Unterscheidung zwischen zwei Arten von Verträgen wird aber willkürlich eingelegt, denn im Texte lauten die Ausdrücke (*ʿâhadtum*) ganz gleich. Und die Erklärung führt außerdem zu dem bedenklichen Resultat, daß Allâh die ‚allgemeinen' Verträge, die doch ebenso gut wie die besonderen feierlich beschworen sein müssen, ohne weiteres annulliert, obschon der Prophet doch sonst immer solche Gewaltstreiche irgendwie zu rechtfertigen sucht.

Auf ganz andere Weise hat in neuerer Zeit H. Grimme[1] versucht, einen Gegensatz zwischen den beiden Absätzen zu gewinnen, der mit seiner Datierung der 9. Sura im Jahre 8 d. H. kurz vor der Einnahme Mekkas, zusammenhängt. Er bezieht nämlich V 1 f. auf die Mekkaner, mit denen Muhammed den bekannten Ḥudaibija-Vertrag abgeschlossen hatte, während V. 4 auf die anderen Heiden gehen soll, mit denen er verschiedene Verträge geschlossen hatte. Aber auch durch diese Erklärung wird das meiste in den Text eingelegt, und vor allem fehlt die Hauptsache vollständig, nämlich, daß die Mekkaner den Vertrag von Ḥudaibija gebrochen hatten, wodurch er eine Rechtsgrundlage für den Angriff auf ihre Stadt zu gewinnen meinte. Dazu kommen noch verschiedene Einzelheiten, die bestimmt gegen die Erklärung sprechen. So paßt der Ausdruck: im Lande umherziehen, V. 2, den Grimme selbst mit ‚pilgern' übersetzt, gut auf die übrigen Araber, aber durchaus nicht auf die Bewohner Mekkas. Und um die an sich richtige Identifizierung der ‚heiligen

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[1] Mohammed 1, 129 f. 2, 29.

Monate' V 5 mit den vier Monaten V 2 zu gewinnen, muß Grimme V 5 von V 4 losreißen, wo nach seiner Auffassung von den anderen Heiden die Rede ist.[1]

Sind nun diese Versuche als gescheitert zu betrachten, so bleibt der Widerspruch zwischen den beiden Absätzen bestehen, der aber so auffällig ist und so verwirrend wirkt, daß die Frage wohl berechtigt ist, ob nicht irgend ein Fehler im Texte daran Schuld sei. Das ist nun meines Erachtens wirklich der Fall, und ich glaube auch, daß der Fehler sich auf sehr einfache Weise beseitigen läßt. Bei der Erklärung der Stelle muß man ohne Zweifel davon ausgehen, daß die beiden Absätze eine Doublette bilden, wo der zweite den ersten näher ausführen will (vgl. *barâ'a* V. 1 und *barî'* V. 3, das doppelte *'âhadtum*, die heiligen Monate V. 5 mit den vier Monaten V. 2). Dann aber liegt es sehr nahe anzunehmen, daß der Parallelismus ursprünglich vollständig war, und daß durch eine Art Haplographie vor *ila* ein *illâ* ausgefallen ist. Dadurch wird V. 1 mit V. 4 konform, vgl. auch V. 7, und alles wird klar und durchsichtig: eine Lossagung von Allâh, die jedoch (*illâ*) nicht diejenigen Heiden trifft, mit denen die Gläubigen auf Zeitfrist berechnete Verträge gemacht haben, sondern nur die anderen, denen eine Frist von vier Monaten zugestanden wird, nach welcher sie auf einen schonungslosen Krieg gefaßt sein müssen (vgl. V. 5). Dabei ist nur noch zu bemerken, daß *illâ* V. 4 sich natürlich auf *al-mušri kîna* V. 3 bezieht, und daß V. 5 V. 2 aufnimmt.

Ist diese Vermutung richtig, so verliert Grimmes Datierung jede Grundlage.[2] Aber auch davon abgesehen, scheint sie mir unhaltbar zu sein, da sie den Ausdruck: die große *ḥağğ* V. 7, die nicht die 'Umra sein kann,[3] und die Erwähnung des heiligen Betplatzes

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[1] Sicher verkehrt ist es aber, wenn Grimme u. a. unter *al-ašhuru-l-ḥurum* die vier bekannten altarabischen Friedensmonate versteht, die ja keine zusammenhängende Reihe bilden, wie V. 2 es fordert. Die vier Monate sind eine von Muhammed gewählte, den Friedensmonaten nur nachgebildete Zeitfrist; vgl. die treffenden Bemerkungen in Aug. Müllers Ausgabe von Rückerts Ḳurânübersetzung.

[2] So weit ich sehe, ist ihm nur Obbink, Der heilige Oorlog volgens den Koran, 43 f., darin gefolgt.

[3] Die Wallfahrt ist die große, die *'umra* die kleine *ḥağğ*, I. H. 961, 13.

in demselben Vers, die deutlich voraussetzt, daß die Kaʿba damals in den Händen Muhammeds war, gegen sich hat.

Der ʿahd im Ḳurân. In seiner Darstellung des Lebens und der Lehre Muhammeds, die immer anregend wirkt, selbst wenn man öfters seinen Ausführungen nicht zustimmen kann, will H. Grimme[1] nachweisen, daß der Eintritt in die Gemeinde durch eine Zeremonie stattfand, die der Form eines Rechtsvertrages zwischen dem Neugläubigen und Gott, bzw. seinem Propheten nachahmte, wobei beide Teile die Erfüllung gewisser Bedingungen eidlich gelobten. Was dieser Annahme besonderes Interesse verleiht, ist, daß diese Zeremonie nach Grimmes Meinung ziemlich hoch in die mekkanische Periode hinaufreiche, so daß Muhammed sich schon früh nicht mit einem freien Anschluß an seine Verkündigung begnügt, sondern dem Eintritte in seine Gemeinde die Form eines genau formulierten Bundes gegeben habe. Die Möglichkeit, daß etwas derartiges stattgefunden haben kann, will ich nicht in Abrede stellen; die Beweise, die Grimme dafür bringt, halten aber bei einer näheren Prüfung nicht stand, und nirgends im Ḳurâne lassen sich sichere Spuren eines solchen fest formulierten Gelöbnisses bei jeder Aufnahme in die Gemeinde nachweisen.

Für die Annahme Grimmes kann man allerdings anführen, daß Muhammed in entscheidenden Augenblicken seinen Anhängern ein feierliches Gelöbnis unter Eidschwüren abzunehmen pflegte. So hält er beim Grabenkriege den Unzuverlässigen vor, daß sie sich verpflichtet hatten, den Rücken nicht zu kehren, ‚und die Erfüllung von Allâhs *ʿahd* wird gefordert (*mas'ûl*)‘ 33, 15; vgl. als Gegenstück V. 23: die Gläubigen, die halten, was sie Allâh versprochen. Ein anderes Beispiel ist der Treueid ‚unter dem Baume‘ bei der gewagten Expedition im Jahre 6, worauf sich wohl 48, 10 bezieht. Von einer gegenseitigen Verpflichtung zwischen Allâh und Muhammeds Leuten ist auch 9, 76 die Rede, wonach die ‚Heuchler‘ eine Übereinkunft getroffen haben (*ʿâhada* m. d. Acc.): wenn Allâh uns von seinem

[1] Mohammed, 2, 148 f.

Überflusse gibt, wollen wir Almosen geben. Aber das hat alles eine besondere Beziehung und hat mit einem grundlegenden Bund der Neugläubigen bei ihrer Aufnahme nichts zu tun.

Eher könnte man für Grimmes Auffassung anführen, daß Muhammed die große Rolle bekannt war, die der ‚Bund' bei den Israeliten und den Christen spielte, und daß es ihm deshalb nahe gelegen haben müsse, den Begriff auf die von ihm gestiftete Gemeinde zu übertragen. So sagt Allâh 2, 38 zu den Israeliten: haltet meinen *ʿahd*, so werde ich Euren *ʿahd* halten! Aber ein positiver Beweis dafür, daß eine solche Übertragung wirklich stattgefunden hat, läßt sich nicht erbringen.

Der Begriff *ʿahd* ist wie das hebräische *berît* zunächst zweiseitig und bedeutet, daß zwei Personen oder Parteien sich gegenseitig zu gewissen Leistungen verpflichten. In diesem Sinne kommt es z. B. an der angeführten Stelle 2, 38, vgl. 9, 76, vor; und ebenso beruhen die oben erwähnten Bündnisse mit den Heiden 9, 1. 4. 12 auf gegenseitigen Verpflichtungen. Daneben kann aber *ʿahd* wie das hebräische *berît* einseitig gebraucht werden, so daß es die Bedeutung: Versprechen, Verheißung gewinnt, was auch von anderen von demselben Stamm abgeleiteten Formen gilt.[1] So heißt das, was Allâh Moses verheißen hatte, *mâ ʿahida ʿindaka* 7, 131. 43, 48. Allâh hat, heißt es 9, 112, das Leben und die Güter der Gläubigen gekauft und ihnen das Paradies dafür verheißen, und wer hält sein Versprechen besser (*aʿhadu*) als er? Freut Euch Eures Kaufes! Bezeichnend sind auch Ausdrücke wie: niemand wird Fürbitte einlegen können, es sei denn, daß er einen *ʿahd* von Raḥmân empfangen hat, 19, 90; habt Ihr einen *ʿahd* bei Allâh erhalten? werden die Juden gefragt, die behaupteten, daß das Höllenfeuer sie nicht erreichen werde, 2, 74, vgl. noch 19, 18, wo es von einem Ungläubigen heißt: kennt er das Verborgene und hat er einen *ʿahd* bei Raḥmân erhalten? Welche von diesen Bedeutungen in den einzelnen Fällen vorliegt, muß deshalb immer mit Hilfe des Zusammenhanges untersucht werden.

[1] Einfacher wird der Begriff durch *waʿd* ausgedrückt 25, 17: es liegt Eurem Herrn ob als ein Versprechen, das eingefordert wird (*masʾûl*).

Grimme meint nun, daß der mehrmals vorkommende Ausdruck: haltet Euren *ʿahd*, oder Allâhs *ʿahd*, den er als das 9. Gebot bespricht, nicht, wie man gewöhnlich meint, eine allgemeine Mahnung enthalte, seinen Versprechungen und Verpflichtungen nachzukommen, sondern sich auf die erwähnte Zeremonie bei der Aufnahme in die Gemeinde beziehe. Diese Auffassung erweist sich aber bei näherer Betrachtung der Stellen als unrichtig. Das Gebot steht nämlich nicht einleitend oder abschließend bei der Aufzählung der einzelnen Verpflichtungen der Gläubigen, sondern als Einzelgebot neben verschiedenen anderen. In der mekkanischen Sura 70, 32 ist von Frommen die Rede, die anvertrautes Gut und ihren *ʿahd* bewahren, vgl. 23, 8. Ebenso klar ist 17, 36: vergreift Euch nicht am Gute der Waisen, sondern haltet Euren *ʿahd*, denn er wird abgefordert (*masʾûl*), und gebet volles Maß usw., vgl. 2, 172. Und ebenso verhält es sich mit der von Grimme zitierten Stelle 6, 153, wo das Halten des *ʿahd* nur ein Einzelgebot ist und erst das folgende: dies hat er Euch anempfohlen, abschließend auf all die erwähnten einzelnen Forderungen zurückblickt. Vollends klar wird die Sache durch 16, 93: haltet Allâhs *ʿahd* und trennt nicht die Eidschwüre auf, Ihr habt ja Allâh zum *kafîl* über Euch gemacht: denn als ‚Bürge‘, wie Grimme *kafîl* richtig übersetzt, kann Allâh ja unmöglich auftreten bei einer Verabredung zwischen ihm selbst und den Menschen. Vielmehr zeigt die Stelle, daß Allâhs *ʿahd* nicht einen mit Allâh geschlossenen Bund, sondern einen Bund bezeichnet, der vor ihm geschlossen ist, und dessen Überwachen ihm obliegt; vgl. zur Sache 48, 10: die Dich huldigen, huldigen Allâh mit seiner Hand über ihren Händen. Mit dem Halten des *ʿahd* meint der Ḳurân nicht eine einmalige Initialzeremonie, sondern das Halten der in verschiedenen Fällen eingegangenen Verpflichtungen und Versprechungen.[1]

Weiter meint Grimme, den Wortlaut der beim Eintritt der Neugläubigen auferlegten Verpflichtungen, also eine bei solchen Ge-

[1] Daß nirgends ein Plural von *ʿahd* vorkommt, worauf Grimme sich beruft, erklärt sich dadurch, daß ‚seinen *ʿahd* halten‘ ein zusammenhängender Ausdruck ist, wie z. B. ‚sein Wort halten‘.

legenheiten stehende Formel, nachweisen zu können. Er verweist dafür auf die Forderungen 60, 12: nicht Abgötterei treiben, nicht stehlen, nicht huren, die Kinder nicht töten, keine unwahren Beschuldigungen verbreiten und dem Propheten im Gebührlichen gehorsam sein. Aber von diesem Gelöbnis heißt es ausdrücklich, daß es den mekkanischen Frauen abgefordert werden sollte, wenn sie nach dem Ḥudaibija-Frieden Aufnahme beim Propheten suchten.[1] Als stehende Formel bei allen Neubekehrungen eignete sich die Aufzählung schon deswegen nicht, weil das Töten der neugeborenen Kinder in Medîna mit seiner zum Teil jüdischen Bevölkerung gewiß nicht so verbreitet gewesen ist, daß eine darauf bezügliche Verpflichtung bei jeder Aufnahme von Proselyten notwendig gewesen sein sollte. Allerdings kann man auf den Bericht über die erste ʿAḳaba-Verabredung[2] verweisen, wo die von Muhammed gewonnenen Medînenser genau auf die Verpflichtungen eingehen, die 60, 12 zusammengestellt sind. Aber gerade aus dem angeführten Grunde bezweifle ich, daß das historisch richtig ist, und vermute, daß der Erzähler, in Ermangelung einer echten Überlieferung über den Hergang bei jener Gelegenheit sich die Sache unter Benutzung jener Ḳurânstelle zurechtgelegt hat. Darauf scheint mir auch der Name ‚Weiberhuldigung' hinzuweisen, die nicht durch den Inhalt der Verpflichtungen, sondern eben durch die Ḳurânstelle erklärt wird.

Ganz ohne Bedeutung für die von Grimme angeregte Frage ist indessen die 60. Sura nicht. Selbst wenn sie nicht die Verwendung einer stehenden Formel bei allen Proselytenaufnahmen beweist, so legt doch der Umstand, daß in diesem besonderen Falle den mekkanischen Weibern einige Hauptverpflichtungen auferlegt werden sollten, die Vermutung nahe, daß etwas ähnliches auch sonst bei Neubekehrungen üblich gewesen sein kann. Und dazu kommt die Tatsache, daß einige der in Sura 60 angeführten Hauptgebote an einigen Stellen in den späteren mekkanischen Suren vorkommen, wo Muhammed verschiedene Gebote zusammenstellt, deren Erfüllung Allâh

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[1] Vgl. Nöldeke-Schwally 1, 219.

[2] Ibn Hišâm 280.

von den Gläubigen fordert. So an der schon berührten Stelle 6, 152 ff.: keine Götter neben Allâh stellen, die Eltern verehren, die Kinder nicht töten, schuldlose Menschen nicht töten, sich an den Gütern der Waisen nicht vergreifen, richtiges Maß und Gewicht halten, gerecht richten und den *ʿahd* nicht verletzen. Ähnlich 17, 23 ff.: kein Götzendienst, Verehrung der Eltern, Wohltätigkeit ohne Verschwendung, die Kinder nicht töten, nicht huren, schuldlose Menschen nicht töten, sich an den Gütern der Waisen nicht vergreifen, den *ʿahd* halten, rechtes Maß und Gewicht halten, unbewiesene Beschuldigungen nicht ausbreiten, nicht übermütig auftreten. Aber diese Ermahnungen sind auf die Mekkaner berechnet, und gerade die Variationen in den Aufzählungen sprechen bestimmt gegen die Verwendung einer stehenden Formel, und außerdem darf es nicht übersehen werden, daß an diesen Stellen, wenn sie richtig verstanden werden, mit keinem Worte daran erinnert wird, daß die Gläubigen sich durch feierliche Eidschwüre verpflichtet haben, diese Gebote zu halten. Die Grundlage dafür bildet vielmehr die etwas undeutliche Erinnerung an das Zehngebot der Israeliten, auf das Muhammed ja an einer anderen Stelle ausdrücklich hinweist, 2, 77.[1]

Bei einer näheren Prüfung der betreffenden Stellen kommt man also zu dem Resultat, daß es an und für sich sehr wahrscheinlich ist, daß Muhammed die Neubekehrten zur Erfüllung einzelner Hauptgebote und zur Vermeidung bestimmter Sünden verpflichtet hat, daß aber nicht nachgewiesen werden kann, daß diese Verpflichtung die Form eines von Eidschwüren begleiteten *ʿahd* gehabt hat, und besonders nicht, daß dabei eine stehende Formel benützt worden ist.

Zum Schluß mögen einige Stellen erwähnt werden, die unklar bleiben, da uns die Verhältnisse, worauf sie hindeuten, nicht bekannt sind. Als Fortsetzung der oben erwähnten Ermahnung, 16, 93, den *ʿahd* Allâhs zu halten und die Eidschwüre nicht aufzutrennen, heißt es: seid nicht wie ein Weib, das ihr Gespinst in Fetzen auftrennt, nachdem es stark geworden war, indem Ihr Eure Eidschwüre als

[1] Vgl. Rudolph, Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans v. Juden- und Christentum, 52 ff.

daḫal (Treubruch?) unter Euch nehmet, daß eine Gemeinschaft (*umma*) größer sei als eine andere; Allâh will Euch nur versuchen, und am Tage der Auferstehung will er Euch klar machen, worüber Ihr gestritten habt; hätte er es gewollt, so hätte er Euch zu einer einzigen *umma* gemacht, aber er läßt irren und leitet, wen er will .... nehmt nicht Eure Eidschwüre als *daḫal* unter Euch, so daß ein Fuß gleitet, der feststand, und Ihr die schlimmen Folgen davon schmecket, daß Ihr von Allâhs Wege verstießet .... verkaufet nicht Allâhs *ʿahd* für einen schnöden Preis, was bei Allâh ist, ist besser für Euch usw. Was damit gemeint ist, wird wohl immer ein Geheimnis bleiben; aber jedenfalls betrachte ich es als wahrscheinlich, daß diese Verse erst in Medîna entstanden sein können, da es mir unmöglich scheint, in der mekkanischen Periode eine Situation zu konstruieren, worauf ein derartiger Wettkampf zwischen verschiedenen *ummât* passen könnte, mag man nun bei ‚umma' an verschiedene Stämme oder an verschiedene religiöse Gemeinschaften denken.[1] Hiefür spricht auch die sicher medinensische und wohl gegen die Juden gerichtete Stelle 3, 70 f.: wenn jemand seinen (d. h. Allâhs) *ʿahd* hält und fürchtet, so liebt Allâh die Gottesfürchtigen; für die aber, die Allâhs *ʿahd* und ihre Eidschwüre um einen schnöden Preis verkaufen, ist kein Anteil an der jenseitigen Welt. Wie man aber auch 16, 94 ff. chronologisch bestimmt, so ist es einleuchtend, daß da nicht von einem Bund mit Allâh, sondern von einem *ʿahd* unter den Menschen die Rede ist.

Schwierig ist es auch, für folgende Stellen eine sichere Grundlage zu finden: ‚Diejenigen, die Allâhs *ʿahd* auftrennen nach seiner Befestigung (*mîṯâḳ*), und die zerschneiden, was nach Allâhs Befehl verbunden sein sollte, und auf Erden Unheil stiften, die sind die Elenden' 2, 25. ‚Diejenigen, die Allâhs *ʿahd* halten und die Übereinkunft (*mîṯâḳ*) nicht auftrennen, die das verbinden, was nach Allâhs Befehl verbunden sein soll, die ihren Herrn fürchten und die böse Rechenschaft scheuen, die geduldig ausharren, um das Antlitz ihres

[1] Nöldeke (Nöldeke-Schwally 1, 148) scheint allerdings anderer Meinung zu sein; aber seine Behandlung der Stelle ist sehr kurz und geht auf die Hauptsache nicht ein.

Herrn zu suchen, das Gebet halten, von ihrem Unterhalte spenden, geheim und öffentlich, das Böse mit dem Guten abwehren, für sie usw.... die aber Allâhs *ʿahd* auftrennen nach seiner Befestigung, die das zerschneiden, was nach Allâhs Befehl verbunden sein sollte, die Unheil auf Erden stiften, für sie ist der Fluch usw.ʻ (13, 20—25). Diese beiden nahe verwandten Stellen sind m. E. die einzigen, die man mit einem gewissen Rechte für Grimmes These geltend machen könnte; aber sie erinnern doch so sehr an die oben besprochenen Verse der 16. Sura, daß sie darnach erklärt werden müssen, und was würden die Worte ,was nach Allâhs Befehl verbunden sein sollʻ bedeuten, falls von einem Bund der Gläubigen mit Allâh die Rede wäre? Aber die Worte sind so undeutlich gehalten, daß ich es nicht wage, Vermutungen über Zeit und Veranlassung aufzustellen.

Wann begann Muhammed das Christentum zu kritisieren? Zu den bedeutendsten und absolut gesicherten Resultaten der Ḳurân-Kritik gehört der Nachweis Snouck Hurgronjes, daß das Bild Abrahams in Medîna ein wesentlich anderes geworden ist, als es in Mekka war, und daß man mittels dieser Umbildung den medinensischen Ursprung einiger Abschnitte beweisen kann, die früher nach ihren Umgebungen als mekkanisch angesehen wurden. Es war der bald nach der Auswanderung entbrennende Kampf mit den Juden, der den Propheten veranlaßte, Abraham zum Träger der ursprünglichen reinen Religion zu machen.

Snouck Hurgronje[1] hat nun weiter die Auffassung geltend gemacht, daß erst der Bruch mit den Juden Muhammed dazu geführt hat, auch das Christentum einer Kritik zu unterwerfen. Diese Annahme liegt in der Tat nahe genug, denn von Anfang an ging er bekanntlich davon aus, daß seine Verkündigung sich genau mit den älteren Offenbarungsreligionen deckte, ein Wahn, den erst die spöttische Kritik der medinensischen Juden zerstörte, während er bis dahin von der Identität seiner Lehre mit dem Judentum und Christentum fest überzeugt war. Erst durch die Kontroverse mit den Juden

[1] De Gids, 1886, 2, 460.

wäre dann sein Blick so geschärft, daß er auch die Mängel des Christentums entdecken konnte.

Trotz des scheinbar Einleuchtenden dieser Konstruktion stimmt sie jedoch nicht ganz zu den Tatsachen, die m. E. uns zwingen, das Verhältnis zwischen dem Propheten und dem Christentum etwas anders aufzufassen.

Allerdings ist ja die Datierung der Ḳurânstücke insoferne öfters eine heikle Sache, als es feststeht, daß in mehreren Fällen größere oder kleinere Abschnitte aus späterer Zeit in ältere Offenbarungen eingeschoben sind. Den Beweis dafür liefern ja eben die erwähnten Stellen, wo in anscheinend mekkanischem Zusammenhang von der *millat Ibrahim* und der Bedeutung Abrahams für das Heiligtum des schwarzen Steines die Rede ist. Man muß also mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß dasselbe der Fall sein kann, wenn in mekkanischen Suren die Dogmen der Kirche angegriffen werden. Es findet sich aber wenigstens eine Stelle, wo eine solche Kritik zum Worte kommt, und wo es unzweifelhaft ist, daß wir uns in der mekkanischen Periode befinden. In einem der vielen Wortkämpfe zwischen dem Propheten und den Polytheisten Mekkas (43, 57 ff.) suchen diese ihn in Verlegenheit zu bringen, indem sie ihn daran erinnern, daß Jesus, den er selbst als Vorbild aufstellte; ja von den Christen als Gott verehrt wurde: ‚als der Sohn Marias als Vorbild dargestellt wurde, machte dein Volk großen Lärm: wer ist wohl besser, unsere Götter oder er? Dieses sagen sie nur aus Lust zum Streit, denn sie sind ein zänkisches Volk! Er ist nur ein Knecht, dem wir Gnade erwiesen, und den wir zum Vorbild für die Israeliten gemacht haben — falls wir es wollten, könnten wir aus Euch Engel schaffen, die an Eure Stelle treten könnten. Gewiß, er ist ein Vorzeichen der Stunde .... Und als Jesus mit den deutlichen Beweisen kam, sprach er: ich habe Euch die Weisheit gebracht, um Euch das zu erklären, worüber Ihr streitet; fürchtet Allâh und gehorchet ihm, er ist mein und Euer Herr, dienet ihm, das ist der rechte Weg!‘

Mit dieser Stelle scheint mir die Sache prinzipiell entschieden, und man wird bei verwandten Abschnitten unbedenklich eine mekka-

nische Entstehung annehmen können, falls sonst Zusammenhang und andere Kriterien dafür sprechen. Auf eine nähere Untersuchung der einzelnen Stellen von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus will ich mich hier nicht einlassen, sondern begnüge mich mit der Bemerkung, daß es wohl möglich ist, daß die Einheitssure 112 nicht nur gegen die Polytheisten, sondern auch gegen die Kirchenlehre gerichtet sein kann.

Es entsteht nun aber die Frage, wie Muhammed in seinen älteren Reden so entschieden die Gleichheit seiner Lehre mit der der Schriftbesitzer behaupten konnte, wenn er ein Hauptdogma der Kirche verwarf. Die Antwort darauf hat Snouck Hurgronje selbst gegeben durch den wichtigen Hinweis, daß der Kern der ersten Offenbarungen nicht der Monotheismus, sondern die Ankündigung des nahen Gerichtes war. Erst später wurde die absolute Einheit Allâhs der alles beherrschende Grundgedanke bei ihm, und dann hat er auch das Dogma von Christus als Gott und die Trinität entschieden abgewiesen. Da es aber immerhin etwas auffällig bleibt, daß er ein so eingreifendes Dogma der Christen, denen er doch in erster Linie die Vorstellung vom Gerichtstage verdankte, hätte ignorieren sollen, darf man wohl weiter annehmen, daß gerade die christlichen Kreise, von denen er im Anfang beeinflußt wurde, der Auffassung von Christus als Gott kein Gewicht beilegten oder sie geradezu verwarfen. Wir wissen ja leider zu wenig von den religiösen Verhältnissen in Arabien zur Zeit Muhammeds, aber es geht doch aus vielen Zeichen deutlich hervor, daß man in dieser wildwachsenden und buntscheckigen Gedankenwelt keine uniformierte Übereinstimmung mit den Lehren der kirchlichen Hauptländer erwarten darf.

Der hieratische Papyrus Leiden I 371.

Von

H. P. Blok, Leiden.

Vom hieratischen Papyrus Leiden I 371 besteht nur eine vollständige Bearbeitung bei Maspéro, Études égyptiennes I, 145ff. Denn Ermans fragmentarische, neulich von H. Ranke revidierte[1] Wiedergabe in seinem ‚Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertume' enthält nur einige Passagen ‚soweit der schwierige Text sich mit annähernder Sicherheit übersetzen läßt'. Beide betrachten den Papyrus als die rührenden Geständnisse eines Witwers, der den Revenant seiner verstorbenen Gattin verantwortlich macht für die Mißgeschicke, welche ihm während seiner dreijährigen Witwerschaft begegnet sind und ihm jetzt wie vor einem Gerichte die Aktenstücke der Anklage vorlegt. Worte wie *šḥnj* und *šmj* (5 und 6), welche nach Gardiners (Inscription of Mes, Seite 14) Untersuchung einen ausgesprochen judiziären Charakter haben, verleihen auch unserem Dokument einen halboffiziellen Anstrich. Am deutlichsten tritt dies am Schlusse hervor, wo der Absender mit den Worten ‚ich selbst weiß nicht mehr zwischen Gutem und Bösem zu unterscheiden', seine Verteidigung kündiger Händen überläßt: man wird hierbei wohl wieder zu denken haben an den *nṯrw ntj jmntj·t* von Zeile 6, dem osirianischen Pendant der  der Amduattexte (οἱ ἐν βύθῳ θεοί P. Oxyrrh. VI, 886, 11). Zugleich wird hiermit oft den Göttern die Vollziehung des Urteils überlassen, wie im Pap. I, 494 der Wiener Hofbibliothek die

[1] Die neue Herausgabe war mir leider zurzeit nicht zugänglich. Wie mir Dr. P. A. A. Boeser freundlichst mitteilt, war Maspéro bei seiner Übersetzung namentlich auf die Angaben Pleytes angewiesen, welche ihm Wilbour vermittelte.

Frau ihrem Gatten ein κακῶς ἀπολλύοιτο καὶ ἐν γῇ κἂν θαλάσσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτου ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀσεραπιος zuwünscht.

Einen Brief darf man unser Schriftstück nicht nennen: *šꜣ·t* wird es nirgendswo genannt, sondern der Schreiber begnügt sich mit dem unbestimmten Ausdruck   (Zeile 7). Auch findet man keine Spur der stereotypen Anfangsformel, welche anfängt mit dem Namen des Absenders, um nach den einleitenden Begrüßungsworten den Brief selbst wieder mit einem  oder  aufzunehmen. Oft trifft man Redewendungen und Ausdrücke an, welche fast buchstäblich der Märchen- und Kunstliteratur entnommen sind,[1] und gerade aus diesen Beispielen bekommt man den Eindruck, daß der Schreiber sich nicht scheute, den logischen Verband seiner Nachahmungsversuche der ‚Kunstsprache' zu opfern. Auch die Wortwahl ist charakteristisch: neben den dem Kasernenleben entnommenen Vulgärismen (vgl. zu Zeile 23 und 38) stehen Versuche, um dem Ganzen den Stempel eines ‚Style recherché' aufzudrücken. So  (vgl. Urk. IV, 321; P. Bûlaq 17, 4, 7; Todtb. 144, 34 und 162, 12) für ‚alle Leute', wo man vielleicht eher noch ein  (Urk. IV, 17 und 20; Rhind II, 8, 2, Spiegelberg, Mythos 6, 30) erwarten würde. Interessant ist der Papyrus aber vor allem durch seine ‚vulgären' Formen, welche in der Kunstsprache fast immer hinter fester Terminologie verschollen bleiben. Das Suffix 2. femin. singular wird fast nie ausgeschrieben, namentlich bei  und viermal (Z. 10, 17, 24, 25) soll  das femin. Neutrum wiedergeben (vgl. Erman, Neuäg., § 18; Junker, Gramm. d. Denderehtexte, § 49 und Sitz. Berl. Akad. 1905, 785). Im Koptischen stehen hier gegenüber ϪⲀⲤ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈⲚⲚⲀⲨ (Matth. 27, 49) neben ϪⲀϤ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈⲚⲚⲀⲨ (Marc. 15, 36 ἀφές ἴδωμεν); Ⲥ̄ⲤϨⲎⲞⲨⲦ neben ⲈϤⲤⲎϨ (Matth. 4, 4) oder ⲈⲤⲈϢⲰⲠⲒ neben ⲈϤⲈ-

[1] Vgl. z. B. Z. 6 mit Orb. 6, 9—7, 1; Z. 5 mit Orb. 17, 7; Z. 10 mit Orb. 8, 1; Z. 14 mit Orb. 6, 5 + 7, 1; Z. 22 f. mit Orb. 10, 1 und Harris 500, Verso 4, 6; Z. 26 f. mit Orb. 8, 2; Z. 35 mit 3 Sall. 2, 8 und so weiter.

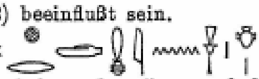
ϣⲱⲡⲉ Ps. 40, 14).[1] So auch ⲥ̄ϣⲉ neben ϥ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲙⲉ.[2] Als drittes Merkmal ist die fünfmal belegte (11, 13, 22, 31, 37) Negationsform  zu beachten (vgl. Ä. Z. 41, 130 und 43, 149). Paläographisch steht unser Papyrus zwischen den scharf markierten Mss. der XX. Dynastie und den fast demotischen Schriftarten des P. Leiden I 363 oder Abbott 8ᵃ. Man vergleiche das Determinativ  als Ligatur (Zeile 34) mit Abbott 8ᵃ, 4 und Hess, Stne, nº 153.

So bekommt man den Eindruck, statt eines aus einem Guß niedergeschriebenen Briefes, als eine ‚Composition de rhétorique inspirée, si l'on veut, par un chagrin sincère, mais développée de sang-froid' (Maspéro), hier ein Schriftstück zu besitzen von einem ungebildeten Menschen, der sich bemüht hat, in eine Umrahmung vulgärer Idiotismen und der Vulgärsprache entnommenen grammatikalischen Formen eine möglichst große Zahl literärer Klichés hineinzupressen, ohne jede Einheitlichkeit an Stil und Gedanke, welches die Tradition von der naiven Pietät, mit der ein Witwer diesen Brief an der Statuette seiner verstorbenen Gattin festgebunden haben sollte, meines Erachtens nach dem Bereich der Phantasie verweisen würde.[3] Da aber der Papyrus als solcher als Unikum dasteht, ist es schwierig seine eigentliche Bedeutung zu bestimmen.

Obgleich die Bearbeitung Maspéros aus dem Jahre 1886 eine für seine Zeit bewundernswerte Leistung ist, gibt es doch mehrere Stellen, wo das seitdem aufgefundene Material, lexikologisch wie grammatikalisch, neue Gesichtspunkte geöffnet hat. Dasselbe gilt von G. Möllers neuer Herausgabe des Textes in seinen hieratischen Lesestücken, III, nº 9, für die Transkriptionsfragen.

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[1] ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲗⲁⲉⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲡⲥ ϧⲉⲛϣⲓϩⲏⲧ Zoega 33 wird vielleicht von ϩⲟⲡⲥ (= *ḥ3p św* Rec. Trav. 21. 22) beeinflußt sein.

[2] Alt noch ohne Suffix  (Urk. IV, 1092; Bauer B, 154; Sinûhe B, 85). Diese Verwechslung der Genera findet sich auch P. Harris 500, Verso 7, 8 und P. Leiden 370, Verso 11 bei *św* = *śt* (K. Sethe, Verbum II, § 575; I Kh. 4, 11).

[3] Hiermit stimmt auch die Angabe Chabas' überein, der auf der Statuette noch den Titel *šmꜥ·t n·t jmn ḳn* .... gelesen haben will (Notices sommaires, S. 19).

I.



,Dem vollkommenen Geist der *ʿnḫ-jrj*. Was habe ich dir Böses getan, daß ich mich in dieser unglücklichen Lage befinde, in der ich jetzt bin? Was habe ich dir getan, daß du die Hand an mich legst, ohne daß dir irgend etwas Böses geschehen ist? Seit ich als Gatte bei dir bin bis auf jetzt: was habe ich [während dieser ganzen Zeit] gegen dich getan, was ich zu verschweigen hätte? Aber, hinsichtlich meines Benehmens: Wenn ich verklagt werde auf Grund von dem, was ich dir angetan, und wenn ich auftreten werde mit dir auf Grund der Worte meines Mundes in Gegenwart der Götterenneade, welche da im Westen ist, so wird man richten zwischen dir und mir kraft meines Schriftstückes, welches meine Worte mit meinem Berichte [d. h. meine Darstellung des Sachverhaltes] enthält. Was tat ich, daß du [auf diese Weise] gehandelt hast? Du bist meine Gattin geworden, als ich noch ein Jüngling war, und ich blieb bei dir. [Auch] als ich alle Ämter bekleidete, blieb ich bei dir, ohne dich zu verlassen oder deinem Herze Verdruß zu bereiten. Solches war mein Betragen [gegen dich], als ich noch ein Jüngling war.'

Kommentar. — Z. 1. *n ꜣḫw jḳr* Maspéro: ,Khou instruit', Erman:[1] ,Weise Geist'. Wie im Turiner Königspapyrus   ist auch hier das *šps*-Zeichen Determinativ. Bereits in den Pyr. wird *jḳr* oft neben *ꜣḫw* verwendet:   Pyr. 813^{d-f}.[2] Stammverwandtes יקר hat ursprünglich die Bedeutung ,kostbar, majestätisch' {assyr. *abnu* [*w*]*akartu*, vgl. יְקַר־רוּחַ (Proverb. 17, 27 μακρόθυμος)} und im ägyptischen wird es allgemein von demjenigen gesagt, was sich vor anderem auszeichnet. So steht auch Urk. IV, 992 das Kausativ  parallel an  (vgl. Todtb. 148, 1) und im allgemeinen gibt ,trefflich, vollkommen' den richtigen Sinn, d. h. hier

[1] Da mir Rankes neue Herausgabe leider nicht zugänglich ist, wird hier nach Erman, Ägypten, 1885, Seite 218 zitiert.

[2]  (Urk. I, 79). Vgl. Maspéro, Ét. d'Arch. Mythol. I, 347.

vom Toten gesagt: ‚unirdisch'. Diese Unwesentlichkeit wird hier noch einmal prägnant durch *ꜣḫw* hervorgehoben, welches ‚die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung ist für die wesenlosen Bewohner des Totenreiches, die Geister der Verstorbenen, die im Glauben der Ägypter eine Zwischenstellung zwischen Göttern und Menschen einnahmen' (Sethe, Beiträge zur ält. Gesch. S. 8). So werden im Alten Reiche die Zwerge (Urk. I, 130) aus dem ‚Märchenland' nach Ägypten gebracht. Unser Papyrus verwendet das Wort, wie aus dem Folgenden sich ergeben wird, schon in der Bedeutung des späteren ⲓϧ : ⲗϧ (Griffith-Thompson, Demotic Mag. Pap. III, 30 und P. Insinger 18, 8) ‚Revenant', wie auch (Bentreschtstele, Z. 11) die ‚Succuba' heißt.

Zum zweiten Teile der Zeile sei bemerkt, daß wir in der Übersetzung in bezug auf dem Parallelismus mit Z. 2 die Suffixe von *jrj·t* und *r·j* vertauscht haben.

Z. 3. *dj d·t m* (vgl. I Kh. 3, 22), wo man eher *dj d·t ḥr* oder *r* erwarten würde: ‚Die Hand legen auf'. Die Konstruktion mit findet man jedoch auch Pyr. 978ᵃ bei P. und regelmäßig bei .

Z. 5f. Maspéro: ‚Que ferai-je quand il faudra déposer .... et qu'on te jugera d'après cet écrit qui est composé de paroles renfermant ma plainte au sujet de ce que tu as fait, que feras-tu?' Diese Übersetzung von *ḥꜣb ḥr·f jrij·j* ist wegen des Suffixes unmöglich. Faßt man aber das einleitende auf als Partikel des Ausrufes,[1] so bleibt *r jrtj* übrig als substantivierter und suffigierter Infinitiv, von abhängig, an dem folgendes *pꜣj jj jrtj* als Apposition herantritt. Dieses *jrj·tj* muß selbst auch Infinitiv sein,[2] weil die Relativform

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[1] Dieses vorangestellt I Sall. 6, 9; d'Orb. 3, 10; 5 Anast. 21, 1; P. Tur. 16, 9; Erman, Lebensm. 46; Bauer B. 30; Prisse 5, 3; Urk. III, 8; IV, 492, 1069, 1088 u. ö.; vgl. Ä. Z. 58, 16.

[2] Vgl. Urk. III, 52. Zur Konstruktion vgl. unten zu Z. 23.

wegen der vorhergehenden Partikel ausgeschlossen ist, und die *śdmtf*-Form (‚die Tatsache‘) durch *pꜣj* als unnötig erscheint. Buchstäblich übersetzt, lautet also der Anfangssatz: ‚Sieh, hinsichtlich meines Tuns von was-ich-tue‘, das heißt ‚hinsichtlich desjenigen, was ich tue, meines Benehmens‘. Daß eine solche, unserem Gefühle nach, etwas verschrobene Wortfolge dem Ägypter nicht ganz fremd war, ergibt sich aus Konstruktionen, wie   d'Orb. 17, 7. Maspéro übersetzte *mtwtw* usw. im Anschluß ans Vorhergehende und sah sich demzufolge gezwungen, den Hauptsatz in den Schluß zu verlegen, wodurch das sinnlos angefügte ‚que feras-tu‘ entstand. Betrachtet man jedoch *mtwtw* als Adhortativ, so ergibt sich unsere Stelle als Parallele zu d'Orb. 6, 9ff.    ‚Wenn die Sonne aufgeht, werde ich mich vor ihr mit dir auseinandersetzen; sie möge die Wahrheit obsiegen lassen.‘

 hat in unserem Papyrus das Determinativ  verloren, welches umgekehrt 5 Anast. 14, 4 fehlerhaft an   in der Bedeutung ‚sich ausruhen‘ angefügt worden ist. *Ḥnw*[1] ‚schreien‘ (z. B.  Urk. III, 55) zeigte seine prägnante Bedeutung sehr deutlich in der Stelle 3 Sall. 6, 2ff.   ‚ich beachtete die Proteste eines jeden, der mit lauter Stimme seine Bitten an mich emporsandte‘. *śḥn* ist hieraus gut als ‚einen seine Proteste vor dem Gerichte zum Gehöre bringen lassen‘ zu erklären und

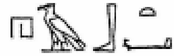
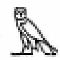
[1] Wie *md·t* neben *mdw*, so steht auch neben *ḥn* das Subst. *ḥnw* ‚Sache, Angelegenheit‘ (*ḥnw nfr*, Sinûhe B, 275; *ḥn n md·t*, Bauer B, 19). Für *mdt* = ⲘⲚⲦ vgl. neulichst Dr. Boeser, Recueil d'Études égyptol. dédiées à la mémoire de Champollion, S. 532), womit noch  (Wenamon 2) *ⲘⲚⲦϢⲈ zu vergleichen ist; *md·t* wird also ganz genau wie assyrisch *'amatu* (אמה) behandelt.

deutet auf die Prozeßführung selbst, indessen *šmj* oft als μηνύειν oder schärfer ,diem dicere, vor Gericht laden, zitieren' zu übersetzen ist. Die Nebeneinanderstellung *šmj* und *šḫn* als ,Vorladung' und ,Diskussion vor dem Gerichte' würde also den Prozeß in allen Instanzen umfassen (vgl. Chabas, Mél. égypt. 3, II, 31 und Gardiner, Inscr. of Mes, S. 14).

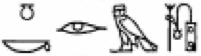
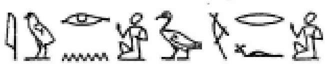
Z. 7. Im Satze *pꜣ wnnt mdw·j ḥnʿ pꜣj hꜣb ḥr·f* ist *mdw* das allgemeine, *hꜣb* das spezielle Wort[1] ,die Worte, welche mein Bericht enthalten'; eben deshalb hat nur letzteres den Artikel erhalten. Die Gruppe *pꜣ wnnt* haben wir als absoluten Relativsatz aufgefaßt, wo *wnnt* also fast ganz an Stelle von  getreten ist. Vgl.   (Schäfer, Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos, S. 14; Sethe, Verb. II, § 749). *Pꜣwnnt* hier als Partikel zu nehmen, scheint mir zu gewagt zu sein, weil man in diesem Falle die gewöhnlichere Form  erwarten möchte (z. B. d'Orb. 2, 3), oder allenfalls suffigiert, wie I Sall. 3, 7  . Letzteres *pꜣwn* wird vielleicht ursprünglich als Akkusativus Absolutus die Bedeutung ,quae cum ita sint' gehabt haben, um sich später zu einer einheitlichen Partikel abzuschwächen. Ähnlicher Vorgang liegt bei  ,vielleicht' vor (Rec. trav. 33, 82).

Nachdem hiermit die Einleitung das Dokument als eine Verteidigungsschrift angezeigt hat, werden im folgenden die Anklagepunkte näher präzisiert und widerlegt. Daher die emphatisch voran-

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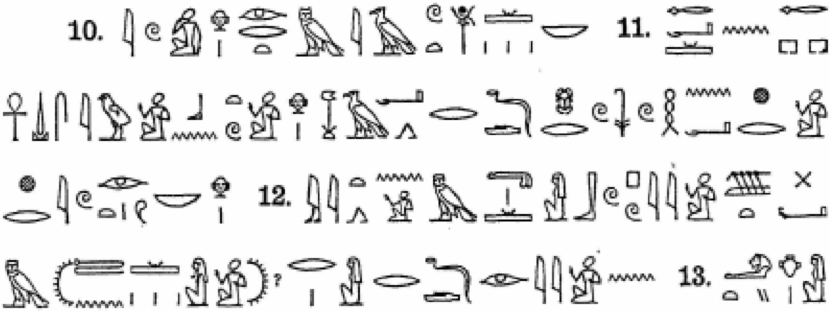
[1] Die Übersetzung Maspéros ,Klage' für fehlerhaft gelesenes  beruht auf der Etymologie ϩⲉⲃⲉ, welches jedoch mit diesem Worte nichts gemein hat, sondern auf  zurückzuführen ist. Man vergleiche aber den Ä. Z. 37, 142 neben  angeführten Krankheitsnamen . Die Schreibung  hat unnötig angefügtes , wie es auch bei   (Z. 3, Einfluß von  P. Berlin 10627, 8?) der Fall war.

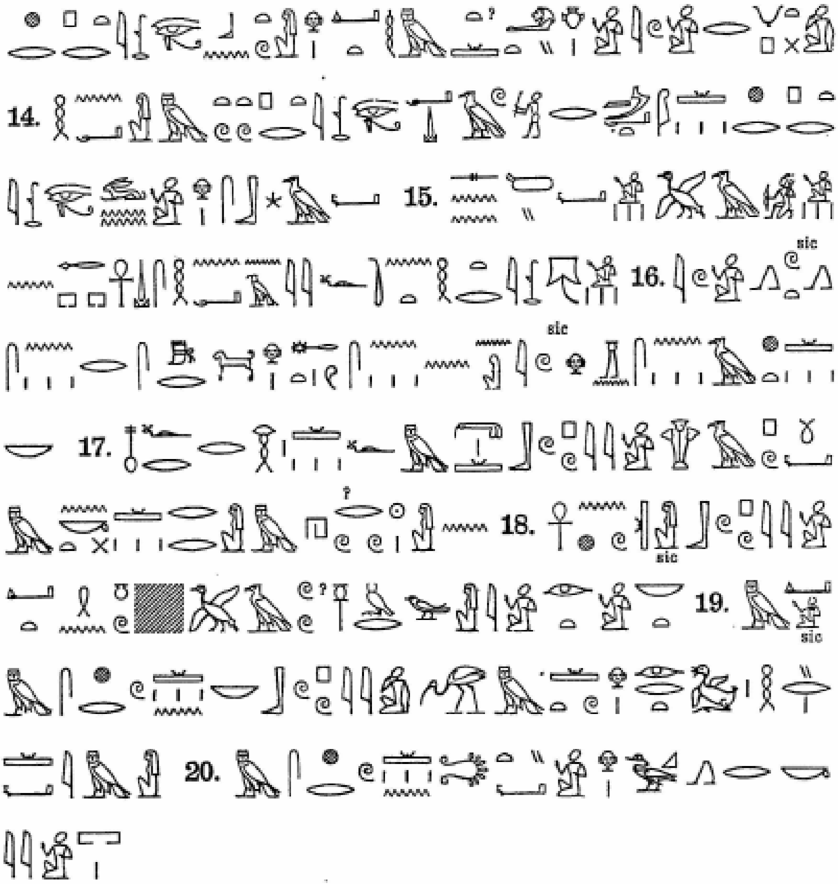
gestellte Verbalform: *jrj·j jḫ r·ṯ* ‚was ist meine Vergehung gegen dich?' (ⲁϩⲣⲟ).

Z. 9. *jrrt m jȝw·t nb.*  hat nicht immer  in dieser Bedeutung. Neben  (I Sall. 5, 10 f.) oder  (2 Anast. 6, 7) finden wir in ganz gleicher Bedeutung  (Urk. I, 101). Neben unserer Stelle steht Urk. I, 106 . Die Konstruktion *jrj m* hat als Passiv bei  (Urk. I, 98) die Präposition aus dem Aktiv beibehalten und ist also zu unterscheiden von *jrj m* ‚eine Rolle spielen' (Pyr. 759[c]; Jecquier, Amduat, S. 101 vgl. Abbott 7, 14), wo die Präposition *m* noch ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung bewahrt hat. Obgleich man in mehreren Fällen, wo *jrj* ohne *m* steht, vielleicht eine Ellipse des Substantivs *jȝw·t* annehmen dürfte (wie z. B.  Urk. IV, 2;  Schäfer, Mysterien des Osiris, S. 42), kommt in mehreren Fällen *jrj* dem koptischen ⲟ̇ : ⲟⲓ bereits sehr nahe (vgl. Ä. Z. 50, 126), wofür selbst die Form  kein Haupterfordernis zu sein braucht:  (Urk. IV, 344).

Z. 10. Wie öfters bei *ḥnꜥ* ist hier auch bei  das Suffix 2. Fem. Sing. zu denken.

II.

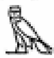




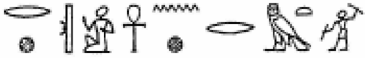
‚Als ich alle Ämter des Pharao L. G. H. verwaltete, habe ich dich nicht verlassen, [sondern] ich sagte: ‚es sei dir mit mir gemeinsam‘. Und jedermann, der mir vor dir kam: nicht {nahm ich als meine Gabe dein Anteil???}, indem ich sagte: ‚Ich werde handeln nach deinem Wunsch.‘ Und sieh, demungeachtet lässest du meinem Herze keine Ruhe. Wenn ich mich mit dir auseinandersetzen werde, wird man unterscheiden zwischen Gutem und Bösem. Und sieh, als ich Offiziere der Fußtruppen des Pharao L. G. H. mitsamt seinen Wagenkämpfern unterwies, ließ ich sie herbeikommen, um sich vor dir niederzuwerfen, und sie brachten allerlei schöne Sachen, um sie vor dich zu legen. Ich habe nichts unterschlagen von [jenen]

Sachen während deiner Lebenstage. Nicht bereitete ich dir [Kummer mit] Schmerzen. Mein ganzes Verhalten zu dir war nach der Art eines Herrn; nicht bin ich befunden, dich grob behandelt zu haben, wie ein Bauer, der einem ins Haus hineindrängt (?).‘

Kommentar. — Z. 11. *ḫprw šw ḫn‘·[ṯ] ḥr·j*, buchstäblich: ‚es wird mit dir, [was schon] bei mir [ist]‘.

Z. 12. Diese Stelle gehört zu den schwierigsten des ganzen Papyrus. Maspéro, der die eingeklammerte Gruppe  las, übersetzt: ‚et comme tout le monde qui venait me voyait devant toi, tu ne recevais point ceux qui tu ne connaissais pas, car j'agissais selon ta volonté.‘ Auch transkribiert er  statt  und *bwpwj·ṯ* statt gut lesbarem *bwpw·j*.  scheint mir der fraglichen Gruppe noch am nähesten zu kommen, obgleich die Bedeutung ‚königliche Gabe‘ statt gewöhnlicherem ‚Spende‘ als ἅπαξ εἰρημένον großes Bedenken erregt. Andrerseits aber hat unsere Übersetzung den Vorteil, die ursprüngliche Lesart *bwpwj* beibehalten zu können, während zugleich auch der Nachsatz auf diese Weise logischer sich dem Vordersatze anschließt als es bei Maspéro der Fall war. *šsp wdnw* findet sich als einheitlicher Ausdruck auch 4 Anast. 6, 9 (vgl. Ä. Z. 50, 56). In der Stelle *jr·t ‘bt ḥr jj·t n·j m-bꜣḥ·ṯ* wird man alsdann *n·j* als ‚Dativus Ethicus‘ auffassen müssen. Jedenfalls bleibt der ganze Passus sehr fraglich.

Z. 14. Anklänge an d'Orb. 6, 5   und ebenda 7, 1  .

Ptr r hat die Bedeutung von *rḫ r*. Unten Z. 37:   ‚ich vermag zwischen Gutem und Bösem nicht mehr zu unterscheiden‘.  ‚der, welcher zwischen Dummen und Weisen Unterschied macht‘ (Urk. IV, 970).  (Sinûhe B, 255) und ähnliches.

Z. 16 ist hieratisch aus verschrieben. Auffällig ist die Schreibung für *n·t*. Liegt hier vielleicht ein fehlerhaftes Analogon zu ⲈⲢⲞ vor? — ist natürlich zu lesen.

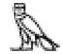
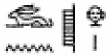
Z. 17. Daß wir bei *jn m-bꜣḥ* wieder an das Suffix 2. Fem. sing. zu denken haben und hier nicht etwa ein absoluter Gebrauch der zusammengesetzten Präposition *m-bꜣḥ* vorliegt, ergibt sich aus der Stelle d'Orb. 10, 1:

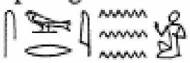
Zum partitiven vgl. zur Zeile 27.

Ḥꜣp mit *r* konstruiert, wie immer auch (Bûlaq 17, 5, 3 f.; P. Tur. 131, 11; 2 Sall. 12, 8 = 7 Anast. 9, 3). Im Anschluß an dieses Wort ist noch einiges zu bemerken. Bekannt sind die folgenden Stellen, wo *ḥꜣp* in übertragener Bedeutung erscheint: mit (Urk. IV, 47) oder (P. Tur. Liebeslied 14) konstruiert: ‚etwas in sich verschließen, nicht herausplaudern',[1] oder in malam partem ‚sprich keine Worte des Verbergens, d. h. verstelle dich nicht mit heuchlerischen Worten' (7 Anast. 5, 7, vgl. Gardiner, Admon., S. 104). Gegenüber *ḥꜣp* steht ‚entblößen, enthüllen' (vgl. Vogelsang, Bauerkommentar, S. 66 und 217). Im Anschluß an das oben Gesagte scheint mir hierher auch der Ausdruck zu gehören, welcher als Epitheton gerne dem Thesaurier beigelegt wird (Urk. IV, 1116[2]) und somit als ‚wer sein Herz enthüllt, nichts ver-

[1] Vgl. (Urk. IV, 63 und 961), womit (Urk. IV, 993) und dann auch (Urk. II, 23; IV, 970) zu vergleichen sind.

[2] Urk. III, 22: ‚derjenige, der seinen eigenen Besitz ins Auge gefaßt hat, geizig, filzig' = (Bauer B, 66; Prisse 6, 6). Für ‚vehement psychic emotions expressed by the idea of covering' (ägypt. *ḥꜣp*) vgl. A. J. Wensinck, The etymology of the Arabic Djinn. Verslagen en Meded. Kon. Akad. Wetensch. Amsterdam 1920. V. 4. No. 3, S. 508.

heimlicht' erklärt werden könnte (vgl. Griffith, Kahûn, Text, S. 32). Als ‚aufrichtig' steht es dann auf gleicher Linie mit  (Sinûhe B, 58) und  (Urk. IV, 367). Eben deshalb beruft sich *Wnj* darauf, daß er erhöht worden sei  ‚indem ich einen Vertrauensposten einnahm' (Urk. I, 102, vgl.   Urk. IV, 940). Diesem *kf3-jb* liegt also eine gleichartige Anschauung zugrunde als  ‚das sich in den Inschriften der XVIII. Dynastie sehr oft findet mit der allgemeinen Bedeutung: klug, erfahren und anderes' (Sethe, Einsetzung des Wesirs, S. 9).

Unsere Transkription , von Maspéro ‚*h3tw*?' gelesen, bietet eine interessante Zwischenstufe zwischen urspr.  und späterem  (Abbott 2, 18) oder ptol.-demot.  (Urk. II, 126; Spiegelberg, Mythosglossar, n° 501; Hess, Setne, S. 166). Unsere Schreibung schließt sich also an die ganze Reihe ägyptischer Wörter an, wo neben dem aus Konsonant entstandenen Vokal dieser ursprüngliche Konsonant in der Schrift beibehalten worden ist, wie [1] = ⲥⲱ und öfters. Daß der Achmîmsche Plural ϩⲣⲉⲩ (Clemensbrief 31, 23) durch Umspringen des Akzents oder des Bildungsvokals zu erklären ist, wobei also das ⲣ durch den Vokal zum ϩ hinangepreßt wird, bemerkt im Gegensatz zu Sethe (Verb. I, § 160ᵃ) und Lacau (Rec. trav. 24, 201 f.) schon Rösch (Vorbemerkungen, § 55). — Durch die vielleicht ursprüngliche (?) Form *whr* > *hrw* (Ä. Z. 53, 90) würde das Abfallen des *r* am Ende des Wortes noch begreiflicher werden, obgleich m. E. das koptische ϩⲟⲟⲩ dieser Annahme nicht entspricht.

Z. 18—20. Die Übersetzung Maspéros las: *rdj·tw r·t̲ ḥr mrj* etc. Für *dj·t šn* [*ḥ3·tj·t̲ m*] *mr*, wie Z. 13, reicht der Raum nicht zu. Eine mögliche Ergänzung ist  etc., wo bei *šn* wiederum, wie oft, das Suffix 2. Fem. sing. zu denken ist: ‚Nicht habe ich [dir] Kummer bereitet [mit] Betrübnis' (*mr* wie *mr-jb* Si-

[1] Rein phonetische Schreibung  = *swj* Urk. III, 50.

nâhe B, 164 u. ö.) Mit *jj jr·t·j* fängt ein neuer Satz an, relativisch am folgenden verknüpft als Subjekt des Nominalsatzes *m šḫrw nb*, wobei dieser Relativsatz in der Hervorhebung vorangestellt ist: ,aber mein ganzes Betragen gegen dich war auf die Weise eines Gentleman', *nb* im Gegensatz zu *jḥwtj*, also nicht ,maître' wie es Maspéro, der *jj jrtj* ans Vorhergehende anknüpfte, notgedrungen tat. *M šḫrw n nb* steht parallel im Gegensatz zu *m šḫrw n jḥwtj*.

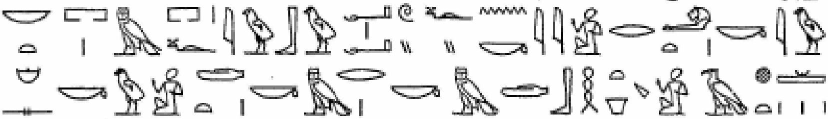
Das Wort *ṯḫr*, von Maspéro fehlerhaft von ϫⲓϩⲣⲁ herleitet,[1] vergleicht Burckardt (Altkan. Fremdw. 1167 + 1175) mit סרח, arab. سرح und gibt die Bedeutung ,sich versündigen, Mißhandlung', in anderer Schreibung  (Petrie, Ostraca 11, V. 2). Dieses סרח aber hat den Sinn von ,herabhängen' und wird Ezechiel 17, 6 vom Weinstocke (ἄμπελος ἀσθενοῦσα) und Jeremia 49, 7 von der unnützen Weisheit (ᾤχετο σοφία ibid. 29, 7) gesagt; als ὑποκαλύπτειν, ϩⲱⲃⲥ vom Tabernakelkleide Exodus 26, 12. Erst in der Übertragung entsteht die Bedeutung ,sündigen' namentlich im Syrischen, also ziemlich spät. Der von Burckardt angeführte arabische Ausdruck سرح steht für ,frei weiden, gehen lassen'. Es scheint m. E. sehr gewagt zu sein, dieses Wort in einer so prägnanten und nicht oft belegten Bedeutung schon im 12. Jahrhundert durch das Ägyptische entlehnen zu lassen. Eher möchte ich hierbei an זְרוֹעַ denken, welches in mehreren Fällen ,Gewalttätigkeit' bedeutet: Hiob 22, 8 heißt der Gewalttätige אִישׁ זְרוֹעַ, vgl. ebenda 35, 9. Dieses Wort findet sich als Kanaanismus schon in den Amarnabriefen als *zurûḫ*, z. B. *zurûḫ šarri dannu* (Amarnabriefe, edid. H. Winckler, n° 180, 27; 181, 33 vgl. Böhl, Sprache der Amarnabriefe, 84) und schließt sich, sowohl der Bedeutung als der Form nach,[2] ganz unserem ägyptischen Lehnworte an. *ṯḫr* charakterisiert den rauhen, ungebildeten Bauernburschen, der

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[1] ϫⲓϩⲣⲁ ist , demot.  (Spiegelberg, Handwb. s. v.), vgl. Wiessmann, Ä. Z. 53, 140.

[2] *ḫ* ist semitisch ס oder ז Burckardt, l. c. I, § 143 und W. Max Müller, Mitteil. vorderasiat.-äg. Gesellsch. 1912, 3, Seite 28. Zur Metathesis des  in unserem Worte, Sethe, Verb. I, § 253.

mit lauter Stimme[1] unverschämt seine Wünsche kund gibt. Ein ganz anderes ist das Betragen des 𓂋, des gebildeten Menschen, dem es seit seiner Jugend als Regel galt 



 (2 Sall. 9, 8, vgl. Prisse 9, 8 ff.). Auf Grund dieser Stelle ist es vielleicht besser, *ʿḳ r kjj pr* einfach als ‚Besuch abstatten' zu übersetzen, unterschieden vom Ausdruck *ʿḳ r pr*, von dem unten (Z. 39) noch die Rede sein wird.[2]

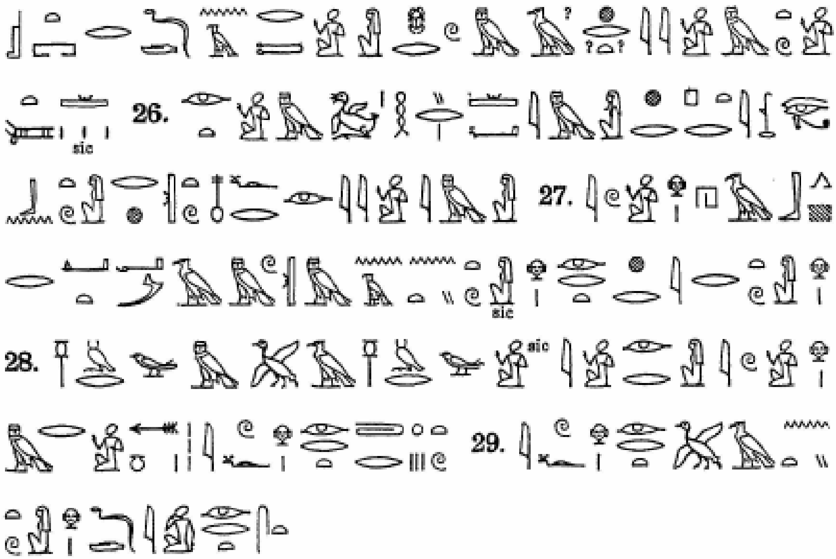
III.



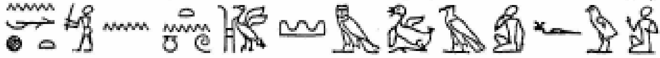
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[1]  ‚und wenn er [der Bauer] seine Stimme erhebt, wie gräßlich!' (7 Anast. 1, 9, vgl. Maspéro, Genre épistolaire, S. 57). Zum Ausdruck *ḳȝ ḫrw* Urk. IV, 1031 + Bauer B, 27; Maspéro, Études d'Arch. Mythol. I, 104.

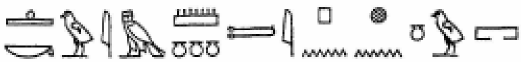
[2] Zur prägnanten Bedeutung von *ʿḳ* vgl. Vogelsang, Bauerkommentar, S. 184.



‚Ich habe mir keinen Tadel zugezogen in allem, was ich dir tat. Als ich zur Stelle gelangt war, wo ich mich damals befand, konnte ich nicht nach meiner Gewohnheit frei hinausgehen, und ich befand mich in der Lage wie jedermann, der in einer ⟨Kaserne?⟩ ist. Meine Toilettbedürfnisse und Speisen und Kleider wurden mir gebracht. Es stand mir nicht frei, irgendwo zu gehen, denn die Leute befriedigten alle meine Bedürfnisse (?). [Wirklich,] ich habe dich nicht [aus freiem Willen] vernachlässigt. Sieh, nicht weißt du irgend etwas Gutes, was ich dir getan, [deshalb] sende ich [jetzt], um dich zu benachrichtigen, von meinem ganzen Verfahren. Sieh, als du krank geworden bist an der Krankheit, die du gehabt hast, ⟨eilte⟩ ich zum Oberarzt, und er bereitete dir die Arzneien und tat alles, was du ihm zu tun beauftragt hast.‘

Kommentar. — Z. 21. Maspéro: ‚je ne me suis soustrait à rien de ce que tu me faisais‘ (*jr·ṯ* statt *jr·j* und *mꜥ·j* statt *mꜥ·ṯ* nebst notgedrungener Annahme einer Diplographie *ṯꜣj*). Das Wort *ṯꜣj* hat mit *ṯꜣj* = ϫⲓ nichts zu schaffen, sondern ist das *ṯꜣj* ‚verhöhnen‘ u. dgl., welches auch 

 Sinûhe B, 109 ff. vorliegt. Das zweite *tȝj* ist internes Objekt ‚sich einen Tadel tadeln lassen', d. h. ‚mein Betragen zu dir war tadellos', also mit anderen Worten dasjenige, was oben Z. 19 *j jrtj mꜥ·t m šḫrw n nb* hieß. Der Parallelismus zwischen beiden Sätzen tritt deutlicher im beiden gemeinen *jj jr·tj nb m·ꜥt* hervor.

Z. 23. Maspéro: ‚et j'en vins à jouer le rôle d'un reclus'.[1] Nach dem oben Z. 5 Gesagten wird man gewiß auch diese Stelle in  u. s. w. korrigieren müssen: ‚ich fing an dasjenige zu tun, was derjenige tut, welcher ist als einer, der *m ḫnw* ist'. Wie schon gesagt (zu Z. 9), würde ‚jouer le rôle de' eher *jrj m* erheischen. Die Schwierigkeit liegt in der Bedeutung des Wortes *ḫnw*, welches kraft seines Determinatives irgendeinen Ort wiedergeben soll. Z. 14 f. teilte der Schreiber uns mit, er sei zum Instruktor der königlichen Offiziere ernannt worden und habe oft seinen Burschen mit Gaben für seine Frau geschickt. *Ḫnw* ist Substantiv bei  ‚sich niederlassen', ursprünglich wohl vom Vogel gesagt, der im Begriffe ist, sich auf sein Nest zu setzen, ‚ruhen'.[2] Neben männlichem *ḫnw* steht die weibliche Form  (Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. 1910, XIX, S. 336) oder .[3] Namentlich als Ruhestätte für Götter und Tote[4] finden wir das Wort in den folgenden Verbindungen: 

[1] Wie z. B. in Z. 3, wird man auch hier vor *ḫnw* ein  einzufügen haben.

[2] Vgl.  ‚der den Aufständischen unterdrückt und herausfordert (Sinûhe B, 135) denjenigen, welcher ruhig sitzen bleiben will' (Urk. IV, 968). *ḫnw* steht hier in der Bedeutung von  (Harris 500, Verso 4, 12), ἔποικος ἀνάξια (Soph. Electra 189).

[3] Von Brugsch (Suppl. 1094) irrtümlich mit ϩⲟⲩⲛ verglichen. Hat dieselbe Verwechslung stattgefunden bei  (Urk. III, 6) statt ?

[4] Vgl. vielleicht auch  Brugsch, Dict. géogr., S. 577.

 ‚Ich (die Hathorkuh) ruhe in diesem deinem Monument, dem schönen *ḫnw*, welchen du für mich gemacht hast‘ (Urk. IV, 237);  (ebenda 736); Urk. II, 41 stellt die  neben  und in Abydos lesen wir, daß die Bilder der Fürsten sind  (Mar., Abydos I, 8, 75; vgl. P. Leiden I 350. III. 11 = Ä. Z. 42:27; LD. III. 140ᵇ. 8). In der Nekropole wird  neben  genannt (P. Berl. 10496, Verso 10). Im P. Salt, Verso I. 13 wird ein Vorsteher dieses Gebäudes erwähnt (*ḥry pꜣ ḫnw*). Wo das Verbum *ḫnj*, mit *r* (Sinûhe B, 21) oder *ḥr* (Morgan. Catal. d. Mon. I, 67, 16) ‚sich irgendwo aufhalten, ausruhen u. dgl.‘ bedeutet, und 3 Sall. 2, 4  geradezu das ‚Halt machen‘ oder ‚im Lager kampieren‘ des Heeres bezeichnet, da kommt es mir sehr wahrscheinlich vor, daß in diesem Zusammenhange durch unser Wort *ḫnw* eben die Haltestelle oder Baracke bezeichnet wird, wo dem Instruktor alle Lebensbedürfnisse verschafft werden, aber welche zu verlassen ihm verpönt war. Daher auch der Unwille in den Worten ‚ich fing an zu werden wie jedermann, der das Kasernenleben mitzumachen gezwungen ist‘. Der *ḫnw* würde also der Gebäudekomplex sein, welcher sich auf der   ‚dem Exerzierplatz der Truppen‘ (3 Anast. 7, 5 ff.) befindet.

Z. 25. Maspéro las *tꜣ rmt ḫprw jḫ ḥr jw·j m twj tm* etc. ‚disant: que deviendrait la femme‘, welches kaum im Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden steht. Der Satz *r ḏd tꜣ rmt ḫprw m ꜣḫrj* (?) schließt sich ans Obengesagte an und gibt den Grund, weswegen dem Schreiber kein Urlaub gestattet wurde. ‚Ich durfte nicht hinaus, weil die Leute mein *ꜣḫrj* (?) waren‘. Das Wort  scheint mir verderbt zu sein und ich möchte vorschlagen, hier per conjecturam  *ꜣḫt·j* ‚mein Nutzen‘ zu lesen.[1] Wichtig für

[1] *ꜣḫt* in dieser Bedeutung (d'Orb. 3, 7; Prisse 9, 11; Urk. IV, 163, 456 u. ö.) mit Übergang von ‚Genuß‘ in ‚Nutzen‘ (Urk. II, 132 *ꜣḫtw r ꜣw·šn* = τἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ πάντα).

diesen Passus ist die Stelle  ,ich bin (Ó, vgl. Z. 9) nützlich für meinen Herrn' (4 Anast. 8, 8), wo *jrj* dem *ḫprw* und *nb·f* unserem Suffix *-j* genau entspricht. Die Übersetzung wird also lauten müssen: ,weil die Leute mir nützlich waren', indem sie mir mit jedem Bedarf entgegenkamen. Obgleich die Lesung fraglich bleibt, scheint mir diese Auffassung jedenfalls den logischen Zusammenhang wieder hergestellt zu haben.

Z. 26 f. Zum Inhalt vgl.   ,du dachtest an nichts Gutes, noch an etwas von dem, was ich für dich getan' (d'Orb. 8, 2 f.).

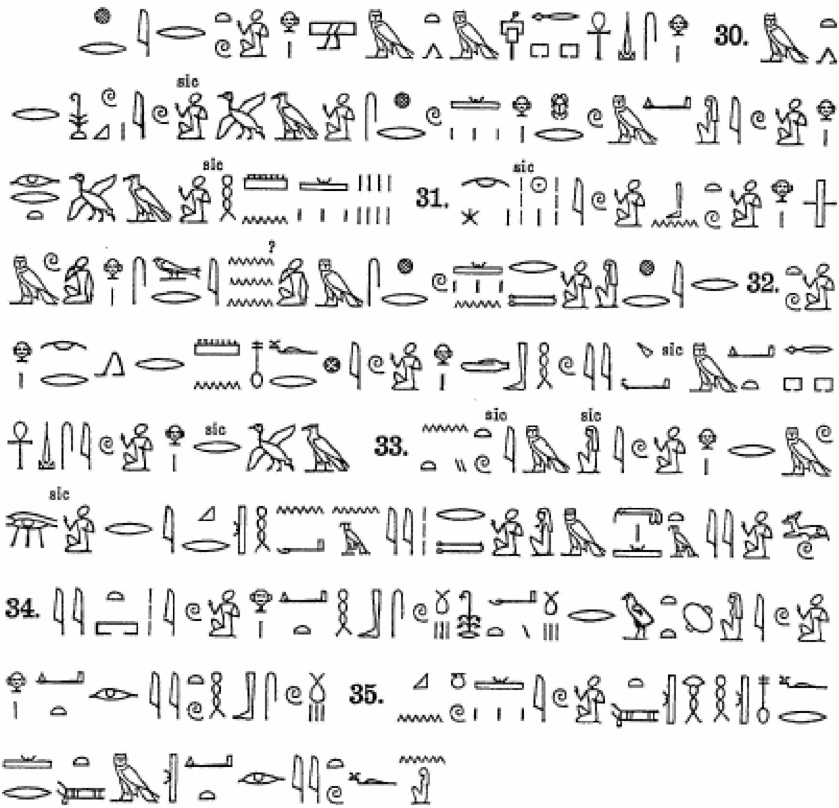
ʿmꜣ mit  partitivisch konstruiert wie   ,Ich gebe ihnen kund von demjenigen, was ich Nützliches getan habe' (Harris 75, 2). So öfters bei den Verbis sentiendi et declarandi  ,Höre noch, was ich getan habe' (Urk. III, 4);   (Urk. III, 13).

Z. 28. *jw·j ḥr jmj-rꜣ swn* ,und ich zum Oberazt' mit Auslassung des Verb. finitum in der lebhaften Rede. So auch  ,Kommt, auf zu ihr!' (Urk. III, 34).   ,Sie, ich hinterm Kapitän an!' (P. Bologna 1086, 17).

Z. 29. Auffallend ist der Partikel  hinter *ḏd*. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden würde man entweder *r jrr·t št* ,um es zu tun', oder *r·š jj jrrt š·t* erwarten, letzteres als Oratio recta zu übersetzen: ,er tat dasjenige, von dem du gesagt hast: „wohlan!, es sei getan".' Wie der Text jetzt beschaffen ist, scheint Kontamination vorzuliegen zwischen   (Oratio recta) und ,

etwa wie man im Koptischen unterscheiden würde zwischen ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉϫⲟⲟⲥ mit ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲁⲁⲥ, und ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲥ.

IV.



‚Und als ich mit dem Pharaoh L. G. H. gen Süden reisen mußte, verweilten alle meine Gedanken bei dir und ich verbrachte die acht Monate, indem ich weder aß noch trank, wie es die anderen Leute taten. Als ich nach Memphis zurückkehrte, bat ich den Pharaoh L. G. H. [um Urlaub] und [beeilte mich] den Ort deines Aufenthaltes [zu erreichen]. Ich beweinte dich sehr mit meinen Leuten vor meinem Hause. Ich ließ Zeugstreifen aus schönem Leinen für

dich herstellen, um [deine Mumie] einzuwickeln und ich ließ viele Kleider machen, indem ich es nicht unterließ, etwas Gutes für dich zu tun.'

Kommentar. — Z. 29. *šmt mš3* ,mit einem auf die Reise gehen'[1] (Vogelsang, Bauerkommentar, S. 138 und Bauer B, 120; Gardiner, Admonit. 12, 13) im Gegensatz zu *špr r* (Z. 32) vom Soldaten gesagt, der in den Krieg zieht und wieder aus dem Dienste entlassen wird.

Z. 30. Der Papyrus gibt deutlich *ḥmn*,[2] aber Maspéros Lesung *šmn* wird wohl richtig getroffen sein, zumal die Bedeutung ,verweilen' für dieses Wort gut belegt ist: d'Orb. 11, 2 und in diesem Sinne Westcar 3, 14. Die Übersetzung lautet demnach: ,ich verbrachte meinen Aufenthalt von acht Monaten'. Der Ausdruck *jbd hrw·w* (Maspéro) steht für gewöhnlicheres *jbdw n hrw·w* = ⲈⲂⲞⲦⲚ̄ϨⲞⲞⲨ (Ä. Z. 58, 158).[3]

Z. 32. Einfaches *dbḥ* (statt ?), in der Bedeutung ,Urlaub fragen', wird vielleicht der Volkssprache entnommen sein. Zwischen und ist oder ähnliches einzuschalten.

Z. 33. Transitives *rmj* ist selten statt der Konstruktion mit , z. B. ,er beweinte ihn' (d'Orb. 8, 1). Dieselbe Verbindung aber ,Götter und Menschen, sie beweinen dich'

[1] In übertragener Bedeutung Spiegelberg, Mythos 10, 29 f.; vgl. Prisse 5, 2. So auch ,homo loquax, der seine Worte nicht zurückhalten kann, (Urk. IV, 971).

[2] = ,Gefäß' (Meidûm); = Götternamen (Brugsch, Dict. géogr., S. 1256, vgl. Pyr. 1013 d); = ϩⲙⲉⲛⲉ. Aus der von Brugsch (Suppl., S. 822) angegebenen Bedeutung ,Haufen?' etwa eine Übersetzung ,meine Fülle der 8 Monate' zu entlehnen, kommt mir sehr fraglich vor.

[3] Allenfalls könnte man auch transkribieren, vgl. P. Brit. Mus. 10490, 13, 14.

(P. Berl. 3008[a], 2, Z. 10 ff.). — Statt ist natürlich zu lesen.

Z. 33 f. Das Wort *jwj·t* bedeutet ursprünglich ‚Stadtviertel' (Spiegelberg, Rechnungen, S. 55 ff.) oder ‚Platz'. ‚[die Gesetze] werden zertreten an den öffentlichen Plätzen' (Gardiner, Admonit., S. 49), welche Bedeutung aber restringiert wird zu ‚Haus und Hof'. Wichtig für unsere Stelle ist 3 Anast. 5, 4. ‚Freuet Euch, alle Leute meines Hauses; Seid froh, die Ihr bei mir seid'. Neben der eigenen Familie ist hier die ‚familia domestica' genannt: Gesinde und Gesippe, und die beiden Ausdrücke *nꜣjw tꜣj·j jwj·t* und *nꜣj rmt* decken sich vollkommen. Deshalb möchte ich hier auch lesen.

Z. 34. Im folgenden las Maspéro . Wir haben es hier natürlich zu tun mit dem feinen oberägyptischen Leinen aus Akhmîm, welches z. B. für die *šndjt* (Harris 55[b], 1) und sonstige Kleider verwendet wurde. So sieht sich der in Armut geratene Schreiber genötigt, sein feines akhmîmsches (1 Anast. 25, 5 f.) für ein kahles zu vertauschen.[1] Der Unterschied zwischen ‚südlichem' (Mar. Abyd. I, 55) und ‚königlichem' Leinen (Urk. III. 42; Urk. IV, 742, ohne) wird oft aufgehoben, da die Zeichen und oft verwechselt werden und Urk. IV, 1149 deutlich (ohne) schreibt.[2] Nötigenfalls könnte man

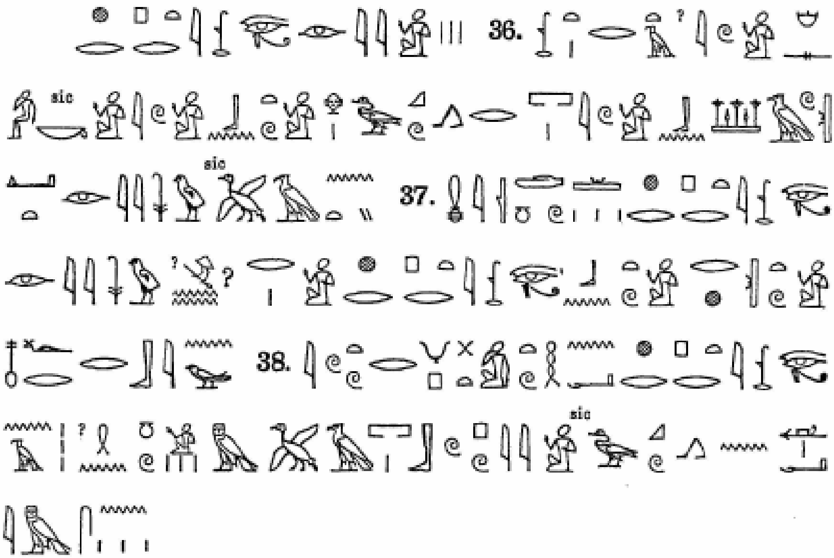
[1] Das Determinativ bezeichnet hier nicht ‚woolen' (Gardiner z. S), sondern ‚kahl', vgl. ‚mein Kopf ist kahl, meine Kleider sind zerschließene Fetzen' (Urk. III, 51).

[2] Auch (Marie Mogensen, Stèles égypt. au Mus. Nat. de Stockholm, S. 41). Das Wort ‚Königsleinen' (ϢNC) ist von A. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinûhe, S. 111 besprochen worden.

noch an einem Unterschiede zwischen *šmꜥ* und *rśj* festhalten, obgleich eine zwingende Notwendigkeit dafür nicht besteht.

Z. 35. Maspéro *wꜣḥ nfr tm* ohne *r*. Man vergleiche   ‚nichts Gutes unterlassend, wodurch Ihre Pylonen nicht hätten hergestellt werden können‘ (3 Sall. 2, 8).

V.



‚Sieh, ich verbrachte schon drei Jahre bis heute (?), indem ich da saß und mich nicht verheiratete . . . .[1] Sieh, ich vermag nicht mehr zu unterscheiden zwischen Gutem und Bösem. Man wird zwischen dir und mir richten. Doch sieh, . . .[1]

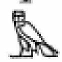
Kommentar. — Z. 36. Spiegelberg verdanken wir die richtige Auffassung der Worte *ꜥḳ r pr* als ‚in matrimonium ducere‘. Bedenkt man, daß neben ϭⲣⲏϭⲉ ‚Mitgift‘ (φέρνη, nicht ἔϝεδνα!) das Wort

[1] Vgl. Kommentar.

 noch die Bedeutung ‚Hausrat' hat,[1] so kann man daraus schließen, daß der Ausdruck ‚eintreten in den Hausrat, welches die Mitgift der Frau bildet' als solcher den Gegensatz bildet zu  (Prisse 10, 8; d'Orb. 9, 2; 3 Anast. 5, 3; Urk. IV, 3) an denjenigen Stellen, wo es das ‚Haus ordnen' von der Seite des Mannes bezeichnet. Bei mehreren Völkerschaften herrscht noch die Sitte, daß der junge Gatte zu seinen Schwiegereltern einzieht. Vielleicht weisen beide oben genannten Ausdrücke darauf hin, daß auch im alten Ägypten beide Sitten nebeneinander bekannt waren.

Spiegelberg transskribiert die durch ‚bis heute' übersetzte Zeichengruppe[2] in seinem Artikel (Ä. Z. 55, 94) mit , welches jedenfalls den Zeichenresten entspricht. Nun lesen wir aber P. Tur. 16, 6.

‚meine Schwester, die hier seit einem Jahre bis heute bei mir als Witwe verweilt', wo jedenfalls *tꜣ*, nicht *nꜣ* steht. Betrachtet man dieses *tꜣ* als Ellipse, z. B. für  oder  ‚bis auf diese [Zeit, Stunde]', so möchte ich auch in unserem Texte eher dieses *tꜣ* statt *nꜣ* transskribieren.

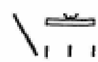
Die im Texte folgenden Worte sind sehr schwierig. Das zweimal genannte  kann wohl kaum auf etwas anderes als auf *ꜥḳ r pr* zurückweisen. Fügt man, wie oben Z. 3 und 23, vor *pꜣ ntj* ein  hinein, so würde der Satz lauten können: ‚nicht ver-

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[1] Abbott. 4, 3; Brugsch, Recueil III, 69, 3 usw.; vgl. Pap. Lonsdorfer I. 4 und III. 21. Mit *ꜥḳ r pr* vergleiche man *erêbu ana bîtim* (Codex Hammurapi § 134, 137, 172, 177). So auch demotisch *jwj m smt n rm jw ꜥḳ·f r pr nfr* ‚ich war wie einer, welcher eine gute Partie gemacht hat' (I Kh. 3, 39).

[2] Dr. Boeser schlug mir die Lesung  ‚unausgesetzt, andauernd' vor, die freilich in dem Zusammenhang gut passen würde, aber sich meines Erachtens zu weit von der ursprünglichen Zeichengruppe entfernt. Auch würde der längere Ausdruck  (z. B. Westcar 7, 4) dem Ägypter in diesem Falle geläufiger sein.

heiratete ich mich aufs neue und befahl (*š3w*) nicht die Heirat geschehen zu lassen in demjenigen, was dementsprechend, demgemäß ist', d. h. ‚ich ließ selbst keine Anstalten zu irgendeiner zweiten Hochzeit treffen', was einen guten Sinn ergeben würde. Wir haben hier also einen Beweis dafür, wie dem alten Ägypter die Möglichkeit einer zweiten Heirat des Witwers oder der Witwe die Rache des verstorbenen Gatten aufwecken könnte.[1] Interessant für diesen Gedanken ist das folgende Dokument aus einer späteren Zeit: ⲘⲚ̄Ⲛ̄ⲤⲀⲚⲀⲒ ⲀⲨⲠ̄Ⲛ̄Ⲁ Ⲛ̄ⲔⲰϨ ⲀⲨⲰ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲞⲚⲎⲢⲞⲚ ⲀⲀⲈ ⲈⲢⲞϤ ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ ⲈⲢⲞⲤ ϪⲈⲈⲒϢⲀⲚⲘⲞⲨ ⲦⲀⲤϨⲒⲘⲈ ⲚⲀϪⲒϨⲀⲒ ⲀⲨⲰ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲒⲞⲨⲰϢ ⲀⲚ ⲈⲦⲢⲈⲤϪⲒ ϯⲚⲀⲤⲘⲒⲚⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲞⲨⲪⲀⲢⲘⲀⲄⲒⲀ ⲈⲢⲞⲤ ϪⲈⲚ̄ⲚⲈⲢⲰⲘⲈ ϪⲒⲦⲤ̄ ⲈⲒϢⲀⲚⲘⲞⲨ (Berl. Copt. Urk. I, n° 189, Z. 14—25). Vielleicht war auch der Schreiber unseres Briefes der Meinung, ein derartiges φάρμακον sei Schuld an seinem kummervollen Leben, und er hat eben deshalb seiner Verteidigungsschrift diese Klausel angefügt.

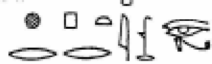
Z. 37. Diese Auffassung von *jrj św* führt uns auch an den folgenden Satz heran: *jrj św ḥnn . . r3·j.*[2] ‚Falls die Hochzeit stattfand, so wäre dies ein *ḥnn . . r3·j*'. Das Fehlen eines Determinativs läßt uns vermuten, daß in dem sinnlosen Suffixe  (?) vielleicht eine verderbte Zeichengruppe stecke, welche mit *ḥnn* ein Wort bildet. Ob dies also wirklich  oder vielleicht  zu lesen sei, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden. Was das Wort *ḥnn* selbst anbelangt, so finden wir es Todtb. 154, 12 und 164, 3 im Gegensatz zu , also ‚Tumult' (Pyr. 289c, 1099b, vgl. 4 Sall. 3, 5) und in der speziellen Bedeutung ‚krank sein' in den medizinischen Papyri (Ebers 1, 6, Hearst 6, 7—8).[3] Gerade so wie *šnj* in übertragener Bedeutung den Ausdruck  bildet (oben Z. 9;

[1] Zum Verbot der zweiten Heirat vgl. Pausanias II. 21. 7; Tacitus Germania Cap. 19; Lex Burgund. 42, 1; Lévy-Brühl, Les fonctions mentales des sociétés inférieures, S. 388.

[2] Masperos  statt *ḥnn* ist nicht zu verteidigen.

[3] Pyr. 1463b—d steht *ḥnnw* neben .

d'Orb. 8, 1; als Verbum P. Berl. 3008^{B}, 4), ergibt auch *ḫnn* das übertragene  (Urk. IV, 969) ‚ein Herz, das sich erhebt'.[1] Der Ausdruck *ḫnn-r3·j* würde also bedeuten ‚mein Mund erhebt sich gegen etwas', wie auch Pyr. 1463^{b-d} und Gardiner, Admon. 12, 13 *ḫnn* mit *ḫrw* ‚die Stimme' verbunden wird. Ja, daß *ḫnn* mit *r3* zu einem einheitlichen Ausdruck zusammengesetzt werden kann, ergibt sich aus der Stelle L. D. IV, 46^{a}, 2  ‚kein unwilliges Wort entschlüpft seinem Munde'. Der Schreiber hat also nicht nur keine Anstalten zu einer Hochzeit treffen lassen, aber der bloße Gedanke daran entlockt ihm schon unwillige Worte.

Z. 38. *šnw* als ‚Klage' aufgefaßt, wie es Maspéro tat, erklärt nicht den ‚persönlichen' Gebrauch des  bei *ꜥḳ* in diesem Satze, der sich auch sonst jedem Erklärungsversuche entzieht. Man könnte notgedrungen *šnw* als  betrachten, welches Wort, gewöhnlich von Göttern[2] und Fürsten[3] gebraucht, hier seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung ‚Umgebung, Gesinde oder ähnliches' haben würde, wobei *ꜥḳ n* ein derber[4] Ausdruck sein würde für was sonst auch *jrj 3·t* (Westcar 3, 6) oder *rḫ* (Dümichen, Bauurk. Dendereh VI, 81, vgl. d'Orb. 3, 6) heißt, etwa ‚ein Verhältnis haben' (?). Die vorhergehende Zeichengruppe lautet in der Umschrift Maspéros   usw. Der Gruppe ‚*wn*' jedoch nähern sich die Reste nicht.[5] Wie oben Z. 33 bei  das Suffix 1. Masc. sing. zu denken war, so ist hier vielleicht in der Form , der dem Zusammenhange nach dasselbe Suffix beizugeben ist, eine Art Status pronominalis des Artikels bewahrt geblieben (koptich ⲠⲀ, ⲚⲀ), vgl.

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[1] So auch *rꜥj.w-š nb n ḫnꜥint* Spiegelberg, Mythos 8, 13.

[2] Z. B. Lefèbvre, Tombeau de Seti I, IV, 15, 4.

[3] Z. B. Sinûhe A, 10. Mit der Bedeutung ‚Geschwister' kommt man auch nicht weiter (A. Gardiner, Inscription of Mes, S. 12).

[4] Aber selbst Äschyl. (Eumen. 660) dichtet dem Apollo die Worte τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων zu; vgl. auch בוא אל־אשה = εἰσέρχεσθαι (Genesis 16. 2).

[5] Nötigenfalls würde auch noch die Diplographie  sic möglich sein.

 ‚in Gegenwart meines Herrn‘ (Abbott. 6, 16 und 24). Das Demotische hat unsere Schreibung beim Demonstrativpronomen (ⲚⲈ?) vor folgendem Relativsatz ohne Relativpartikel (Spiegelberg, Mythosglossar, n° 396).

Nach dem oben Gesagten möchte ich also für den Schluß des Schriftstückes ohne sichere Gewähr für die Richtigkeit folgende Übersetzung vorschlagen:

‚Sieh, ich verbrachte schon drei Jahre, indem ich [allein] dasaß, ohne eine zweite Ehe einzugehen und ohne auch selbst Anstalten dazu treffen zu lassen. Eine zweite Ehe war mir zuwider! Doch sieh, was mich anbetrifft, nicht weiß ich zu unterscheiden zwischen Gutem und Bösem und andere mögen zwischen dir und mir entscheiden. Sieh, selbst mit meinem Hausgesinde habe ich mich nicht zu einem Verhältnis mit einer unter ihnen eingelassen.‘

Und hiermit sind wir zum Ende angelangt. Vieles bleibt noch fraglich und viele Übersetzungsversuche sind nur ein Notbehelf, bis Verbesserungen vorgeschlagen werden, welche, wie ich hoffe, nicht zu lange auf sich werden warten lassen. Aber jedenfalls kommt es mir vor, daß an einigen Stellen wenigstens die Lesung richtiger getroffen und der Zusammenhang logischer hergestellt worden sei als es Maspéros, für seine Zeit jedoch sehr bewundernswerte, Leistung hätte tun können.

Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks.

By

M. Th. Houtsma, Utrecht.

The Rāḥat uṣ-Ṣudūr wa-Ayat us-Surūr being a history of the Saljūks by Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Sulaimān ar-Rāwandī, edited with notes, glossary and indices by Muhammad Iqbāl (Gibb Memorial. New Series, vol. II). London. Luzac & Co. 1921.

Amongst the splendid volumes, published by the Trustees of the Gibb fund that which contains the book cited above deserves a separate mention. We knew from the description of the Ms. by its former possessor M. Schefer[1], that it was one of the pearls of his collection, because of its antiquity, its beautiful writing, its correctness and, last not least, because of its contents, to judge from the extracts published. Our interest in it was revived a few years later by a full account of the contents, inserted in JRAS. 1902, pp. 568—610, 849—887 by Prof. Browne, and the more so, as it contained a promise that he would take in hand a complete edition. In the meantime the Ms., a unique copy, passed with the rest of the Collection Schefer into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and was incorporated in the Suppl. Persan under No. 1314, described in the Catalogue of M. Blochet, vol. I, pp. 276, 277.

Prof. Browne has not himself undertaken the edition of the work, but committed this task to a native Persian scholar, as he had formerly done with the famous *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān gushā* of Juwainī,

[1] Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux. Paris 1886, vol. II, pp. 21—47; Siassetnameh Supplément, ibid. 1897, pp. 70—114.

of which till now two volumes have appeared by the care of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī. That edition was a complete success, as is well known by all students of Persian literature, not only by the accuracy of the text published, but also by the valuable notes which accompanied it. The editor of Rāwandī's work has tried, as he says himself in the preface, to imitate his predecessor in his method of publishing Persian texts and has given references to parallel passages in other historical texts treating of the same subjects. We may add that he has proved equal to his task and has given us an admirable edition, not unworthy of his model. The text is irreproachable and the notes conceal a stupendous mass of work and a vast knowledge of Persian literature. In this respect it may suffice to observe that the author quotes more than 2200 verses of different poets, except those of himself (with which we might readily dispense), and that the editor has indagated in almost every instance where these verses were anonymous the name of the poet and collated, if possible, the original text. This collation proved, as he observes with good reason, that the work of Rāwandī, besides its value as a historical source, must be appreciated as containing the oldest and most authoritative text as yet available of some of the most celebrated ancient Persian poems.[1] In short the edition of Muḥ. Iqbāl leaves nothing to be desired, and the only reproach, that he has neglected to consult the Turkish version, of which I have spoken in my *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, weighs very little, as this version is not a literal one and its collation would at most have furnished some very problematical various readings.

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[1] Amongst the poems cited is also a Ḳaṣīda composed by Saiyid Ashraf Ḥasan b. Muḥ. al Ḥusainī al-Ghaznawī (died A. H. 535), pp. 189—192. Had I known that Ḳaṣīda at the time when I vindicated the authenticity of the Dīwān of Niẓāmī, contained in some Berlin and Oxford Mss. (*A volume of Oriental Studies presented to Prof. E. G. Browne.* Cambridge 1922, p. 225), the chronological difficulty that Niẓāmī should have imitated a poem composed by Kamāl ud-dīn Ismā'īl Ispahānī, as I supposed at that time, would not have existed for me, the poem in question being really a composition of Saiyid Ashraf, who belonged to an older generation than that of Niẓāmī.

Great as may be the value of Rāwandī's work for the students of Persian language and literary history, we have to deal with it chiefly as a source for historical information. As such it cannot for its greater part, that is to say for the whole history of the first Saljukian rulers till the reign of Arslān and Ṭughril II, be esteemed very high. The author seems to have contented himself, as the editor has already pointed out, to copy the work, unfortunately now irretrievably lost for us, of Ẓahīr ud-dīn Nishāpūrī, who wrote, during the reign of Sultan Ṭughril II, a history of the Saljuks, which is also the chief source of the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda,* of Mīrkhwānd and other subsequent historiographers, who agree, therefore, with our author and with one another in their representation of facts, often even using the same words. The principal aim of our author in these parts of his work is to explain how the historical facts narrated by him may serve to illustrate the truth of the Arabic sayings compiled in al-Ahwāzī's[1] book *Kitāb ul-Farā'id wa'l-Ḳalā'id,* which he cites in Arabic with a cumbrous Persian translation without naming the author or the title of the work from which he has borrowed his wisdom. He deemed it, therefore, quite superfluous to consult other works in Arabic or Persian, on the history of the Saljuks, and merits yet to be praised that he has named his chief source. Other Persian historiographers were less scrupulous in this respect and copied e. g. the book of our author in its essential parts without even mentioning it. Such was the case with a compendium on the history of the Saljuks, appended to the end of a Ms. of the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān gushā* (Ms. Paris Suppl. Pers. 1556) and with the *'Urāda fi'l hikāyat is-Saljuḳīya* of al-Ḥusainī, published by Dr. Süssheim, as has been shown by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī. Cf. the Preface of Muḥ, Iqbāl, p. XXXIII—XXXIV.

In order to give a curious and instructive example of the

[1] The editor names (Preface, p. XXII) at Tha'ālibī instead of al-Ahwāzī as author of this book following the dates of some Mss. of this work, but Dozy has already in 1851 shown (Cat. Codd. Orient. Ac. L. B., vol. I, p. 195) that the real author is al-Ahwāzī. Cf. also Brockelmann, Geschichte der Ar. Lit., vol. I, p. 96.

manner how, by this method, historical events were misrepresented, I will cite a passage of our author, occurring on pp. 153 and 154, where it is said that Sultan Muḥammad I at the beginning of his reign marched towards Baghdād against Ṣadaḳa and Ayāz, a servant of his brother's son,[1] who had rebelled and assembled an immense army. But Muḥammad, though inferior in numbers and force, got the succour of the Heavens, for it is related that, as the armies met face to face, a black cloud and other signs, notably a fiery dragon, appeared in the skies, which caused so great a consternation amongst the troops of the enemy that the men threw their weapons away and fled. Ṣadaka himself was killed, his head was cut off and sent by the Sultan to his brother Sanjar in Khorāsān. As for Ayāz, he was taken prisoner and subsequently put to death. In the same manner these events are told in the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne, p. 454), in the *Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā* (Cf. Mīrkhwānd, Hist. Seldschukid., ed. Vullers, p. 162) and in the chronicles of Rashīd ud-dīn and Khwāndemīr, copied by all of them from the *Saljuḳnāme* of Ẓahīr ud-dīn.[2] How untrustworthy and fabulous this tale is, will at once be clear, if we remark that here two distinct historical events, the death of Ayāz in 1105 and that of Ṣadaḳa three years afterwards in 1108 have been hampered together. Moreover, the former made peace with Muḥammad without any fighting on both parts, but was afterwards treacherously murdered. As for Ṣadaḳa, the king of the Arabs of al ʿIrāḳ, he fell really in a combat with the troops of the Sultan and his head was cut off and sent to Baghdād, not to Khorāsān. During the fight, as IA[3] tells us, the wind that blew at the beginning in the face of the army of the Sultan changed and blew in the face of the troops of Ṣadaḳa. The Persian historiographer took up this simple phrase and embellished its purport by

[1] The name of this son Malikshāh b. Barkiyāroḳ is omitted in the text. He had been appointed by his father as his successor, under the tutelage of the Atabeg Ayāz because of his tender age. Cf. IA., vol. X, p. 261. The qualification of the latter as a rebel in the text is quite unwarrantable.

[2] See the note of the editor on p. 154 of the text.

[3] Ed. Tornberg, X, p. 312.

speaking of a black cloud and a fiery dragon, as if by divine intervention a great miracle had taken place in favour of the Sultan. What did he care for the precise circumstances which led to the death of Ayāz and Ṣadaḳa, if their fate furnished him with a fit example to inculcate the maxim that he who rebels against the Sultan incurs the punishment of God!

For the last period of Saljukian rule, during the reigns of Arslān and Ṭughril II, the case is somewhat different. The author relates here what happened during his lifetime and writes about events of which he was himself an eye-witness. He stood moreover in personal relations to Ṭughril and other men of note of that epoch, and we are therefore justified in expecting that he will be able to acquaint us with the motives which determined their actions and adventures. But in this expectation we are deceived. He never gives us a clue to understand the relations which existed between the Saljuks and the Atabegs and their neighbours, the Abbasid Caliphs or the Khwārizmian Sultans. He does not speak of political parties; of the influence of personal ambitions on the acting persons, so that it appears as if the events related happened by mere chance. He omits what seemed to him uninteresting and forgets to observe at some occasions what he knows very well at another passage. We will give a striking example of his carelessness in this respect.

The author relates, p. 301, how Sultan Arslān died on the 15 Jumādā II 571 (1 Dec. 1175) in the house of Fāṭima the sister of ʿAlā ud-daula ʿArabshāh, whom he had married a fortnight before. In the preceding pages he tells us that the Sultan suffered from a sickness, from which he had not wholly recovered at the time of his marriage. His subsequent death seems therefore quite natural, and so it is related by him. Not a word is said of the rumour mentioned in al-Bondārī, p. 301 (see also Mīrkhwānd, ed. Vullers, p. 248; *al-ʿUrāḍa*, ed. Süssheim, p. 169) that the Sultan had been poisoned on the instigation of the Atabeg Pahlawān. Nevertheless, the author was not ignorant of it, as appears from what he writes on p. 351. On the cited page there is question of an alleged plot

of the same ʿAlā ud-daula and several other court officials and notabilities, e. g. the Vizir Khwāja ʿAzīz (ʿAzīz ud-dīn) against the Sultan Ṭughril. The attention of the Sultan was aroused by Ẓahīr ud-dīn Balkhī, chief Imām of the city of Hamadhān, and the fact that these persons entertained a secret correspondence with his enemy Ḳutlugh Inānj, the son of Pahlawān, was casually established, as our author relates at large. Consequently they were arrested and detained in the palace of ʿAlā ud-daula, of which the Sultan himself held the key. One of them, the cup-bearer Ḳutlugh, had the imprudence to exclaim, despairing of his life, that he would have done with the head of the Sultan as he had done with that of his father. Summoned to explain these words he said: by the consent of the Atabeg Muḥammad (Pahlawān) ʿAlā ud-daula has given me 10,000 gold dinars in order that I should present to your father in the bath a (poisoned) beverage.[1] Ṭughril seems to have been till then ignorant of this fact, for on hearing these words he burst into a rage and immediately ordered the death of all the detained persons with the exception of ʿAlā ud-daula, who was bowstrung some time afterwards.

One would expect that the author, who inserts, at this passage, pp. 353—355, an elegy, composed by himself, on the death of his protector, should have contradicted the statement of the cup-bearer, not only because it is at variance with his own account of the death of Arslān, but especially because it laid a serious blame on the memory of his friend and protector ʿAlā ud-daula. But he remains silent, and this silence seems significant; indeed, it is a strong argument for the truth of the accusation, as will be clear, when we have said some words on the relations existing between Arslān and the Atabeg.

Arslān had been proclaimed Sultan by the Atabeg Ildegiz, who had married his mother, the widow of Ṭughril I, but in doing this

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[1] The text adds بکینه خواهر که زن پدرت بود which can mean nothing else than: to avenge his sister who was the wife of your father. As the author of the alleged crime was not ʿAlā ud-daula but the Atabeg, the meaning of the words in this connexion is obscure.

he only meant to keep off other pretenders to this title, reserving all power to himself. Oftentimes, says the author of the *Zubdat at-tawārikh*, the young Sultan complained of this state of affairs to his mother, who appeased the ambition of her son by the remark that he should never forget that he owed his dignity to her husband, and submit to his prevalence. But after her death and that of Ildegiz shortly afterwards in the same month 568 (1173), Arslān saw no reason why he should conceal his discontent. If we may believe the author of the *Zubdat* (fol. 95a), he went even so far as to assemble an army and marched in the direction of Azarbaijān against Pahlawān, who, after the death of his father, had assumed the reins of government. But at his arrival at Zanjān, he fell ill and returned to Hamadhān. It is true that in other chronicles no such design of Arslān is mentioned, but this may be explained by the fact that it was not carried out because of his illness, of which there is also question in the other sources. At any case it cannot be denied that Pahlawān had every reason to be on his guard against a rising of the adherents of the Saljuks and that he thought it the surest way to avoid this peril, if Arslān disappeared from the scene and his infant son was put in his place. The marriage of the Sultan with the sister of ʿAlā ud-daula who was, as is clear from his conduct afterwards under Ṭughril, a partisan of the Atabegs, furnished a fit occasion for putting this design into effect without causing surprise. If the cup-bearer had not avowed the crime many years afterwards, only vague rumours would have caused some suspicion that the death of the Sultan had not been a natural one, and even these would have vanished under the phraseology of Persian historians.

Another similar example of the careless manner in which events are related by our author is given by his account of the death of the Atabeg Ḳizil Arslān, who was found lying murdered in his tent 5 Shaʿban 587 (24 Aug. 1191). We may read it on p. 363 of the text and be inclined to admit his supposition that it was the work of the Atabeg's own Emirs, if not the motive which he presupposes aroused some mistrust. The Emirs, he says, feared that the Atabeg

would kill them because they were unfaithful servants, having betrayed their master the Sultan before. This reasoning may be correct on the part of the author, it is quite inadmissible and even absurd to suppose that the Emirs considered themselves as worthless traitors, who could only expect to be treated by their new master as such. If so, the question arises if the murder was really committed by the Emirs, and our doubts increase, if we read some pages further on, p. 367, that the princess Inānj khātūn, shortly after her marriage with the Sultan Ṭughril, was bowstrung by his order, because his friends had warned him that she might do with him as she had done with her former husband Ḳizil Arslān. Here the princess and not the Emirs are charged with the crime, in accordance with the accounts of other authors, e. g. *Zubdat*, fol. 102b, ibn Isfandiyār, transl. Browne, p. 254.[1] In the first-named chronicle it is said that the Atabeg neglected her and was addicted to sexual perversity and drinking, so that she detested him and sent some of her men to his tent, who slew him as he was lying drunk on his bed. This may be, but we shall show that the princess had yet another and more serious motive for her deed.

Inānj khātūn[2] had born to her first husband, the Atabeg Pahlawān, two sons Ḳutlugh Inānj Maḥmūd and Amīr Amīrān ʿOmar. Besides these two Pahlawān had yet two other sons, Abū Bakr Pīshkīn and Özbeg, both born from female slaves. The former was brought up by his uncle Ḳizil Arslān, who cherished him as his own son, having himself no offspring. In accordance with the Turkish law of the seniorate, Pahlawān had divided his estates amongst his sons under the supremacy of his brother, and after his death 582

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[1] Imād ud-dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, ed. Landberg, p. 410 writes: فنسب قتله الى الاسماعيلية تارة والى الخاتون الاينانجية اخرى

[2] So she is commonly named after her father the Emir Inānj, but her proper name is spelled قيتبه in the *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, pp. 472. 475. 476. A variant is Ḥabība occuring in the *Nigāristān*, ed. Bombay, p. 184, but Zāhida khātūn, as has ibn Isfandiyār, transl. Browne, p. 254 is an error (Z. kh. being the name of another wife of Pahlawān). The correct reading of the name is uncertain, see also JA 1848, vol. II, p. 368, note 2.

(1186) the latter assumed the reins of government. The ambitious princess felt herself much grieved by this course of affairs, above all because her sons would be inferior to the son of a slave by the predilection of Ḳizil Arslān towards Abū Bakr. She, therefore, rebelled, aided by some Emirs, but as her brother-in-law marched against her at ar-Ray, the Emirs left her to her fate and she was forced to abandon this city and to accompany Ḳizil Arslān, who married her, though he allowed her to take her residence in the castle of Sarjahān, where great treasures were stored by the former Atabegs. In these circumstances we may easily imagine that she hated and detested her new husband and planned his death in order to secure the throne for her own sons. She could not foresee that thereby a new enemy would reappear on the scene, viz. the Saljuk Sultan Ṭughril, who was held imprisoned by Ḳizil Arslān, but now regained his liberty. Having assembled an army, he defeated the troops of her son Ḳutlugh Inānj and went to Hamadhān, the old residence of the Saljuks. Eager to get the princess and her treasures into his power he fetched her from Sarjahān and celebrated his marriage with her at Hamadhān, with all outward signs of respect due to her high rang, but shortly afterwards he put her to death, as has been stated above. Also in respect to this fact the historians are not unanimous: the author of the *Zubdat* pretends that she died a natural death and that her son only imputed it to Ṭughril. Ḥamdallāh Ḳazwīnī, Mīrkhwānd etc. here find a fit occasion to indulge in the predilection of Persian historians for anecdotical historiography. According to their accounts of these events, the princess was enamoured of the Sultan and made a proposal of marriage, to which Ṭughril agreed. Afterwards, however, she intrigued with her sons to bring ruin on him and presented a poisoned beverage to him. But Ṭughril, aware of her design, forced her to take it herself with the result that she died immediately. In this manner the Sultan is disculpated, and the maxim that evil deeds meet with ready punishment enforced by a striking example, but the account of Rāwandī is, without doubt, more conform to the truth.

It is but just to observe that our author, in writing down whatever seems to him interesting, without giving himself the trouble to determine what is true in the statements of different persons, is in most cases an impartial witness. Therefore his account of the reigns of the two last Saljuks is, as the editor observes with good reason, of great value. By a happy coincidence, we possess for this epoch, besides the dates occurring in the well-known works of ibnu'l-Athīr and Bondārī, two independent sources, viz. the Arabic appendix at the end of the history of the Saljuks in the great work of Rashīd ud-dīn, written by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm in 599 (1202), and the *Zubdat at-Tawārīkh* attributed to Ṣadr ud-dīn ʿAlī b. Abi'l-Fawāris Nāṣir b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusainī. Both these works are unedited, and of the latter but one copy has been preserved, now in the possession of the British Museum, see Rieu's Suppl. to the Catalogue of the Arabic Mss. in the B. M., No. 550.[1] Abū Ḥāmid occupies himself only with Ṭughril II and relates the events of his reign in chronological order, but in so concise a manner that they often remain obscure without a commentary. His dates, however, are exact and to be preferred in almost every case where they

[1] In his monograph entitled Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im B. M. zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschukischen Reiches, Leipzig 1911, Dr. Süssheim has submitted the contents of this Ms. to a detailed and careful examination and shown that the work is erroneously attributed to the person named in the text. A further argument not mentioned by him in favour of his views is that in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān gushā*, ed. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, II, p. 44 a passage is cited from the *Zubdat*, which is not to be found in the Ms., though being unquestionably genuine. The real author, whose name is unknown, lived in the first half of the seventh century of the Hijra and used for his history of the first Saljuks the work of Ṣadr ud-dīn, from which he makes large extracts. Perhaps some light may be thrown on the question of the original contents of this work by a comparison with the Turkish history of the Saljuks, contained in a Ms. preserved at Oxford (B. L. Hunt. Donat 6), which I had occasion to inspect many years ago, as the author cites in his Preface the *Zubdat* of Ṣadr ud-dīn. As to the author of the compilation contained in the London Ms., he is hardly to be identified with one of the two Arabic historians named by Dr. Süssheim, for they lived in Egypt and Syria, whereas the narrative clearly shows that the author lived in the eastern parts of the Mohammadan world (Azarbaijān, Khwārizm or perhaps Baghdād).

differ from those in the other sources. The narrative in the *Zubdat* is more elaborate, but is to be accepted with reserve, as we have already seen with respect to the marriage of Ṭughril and Ināmj khātūn. This is also the case with his chronological statements, which often differ from those which we find in other sources. Both these sources combined and occasionally compared with the dates furnished by other historians may suffice to give a tolerably complete account of the brief career of the last of the Saljuk Sultans of al ʿIrāḳ, but for a just appreciation of his personal qualities and endowments we must have recourse to ar-Rāwandī. From him we learn that this last scion of an illustrious race possessed all the qualities required in a Turkish prince at that age; he was a young man of great physical strength, well skilled in horsemanship and military exercise and of great personal valour. Moreover he applied himself, not without success, to the study of Persian literature and calligraphy; his Persian verses, of which Rāwandī gives some specimens,[1] bear ample testimony to his perfect knowledge of the Persian language and art of verse-making. In the happy combination of these physical and mental accomplishments he surpassed, as our author pretends, all his ancestors. It was evident that a man of his stamp would not be content with the part played by his father with great reluctance under the tyranny of the Atabegs Ildegiz and Pahlawān. As the latter died (1186) and was succeeded by his brother Ḳizil Arslān, Ṭughril profited of an occasion to escape from the odious supervision wherein he was held by the new Atabeg. But neither the help of some discontented Emirs, nor his vain efforts to gain the assistance of the prince of Māzandarān and of the Shāh-i Arman furnished him with an army strong enough to encounter the forces of the mighty Atabeg. He had to rely on the always uncertain aid of some Turkoman chiefs, who adhered to the cause of the Saljuks by ancient ties of

[1] See further ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* I, 41; *Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 473; Mīrkhwānd, *Hist. Seldsch.* ed. Vullers, p. 242; *Nigâristān*, ed. Bombay, 1275, pp. 192—194; *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldj.*, IV, 305; Juwainī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān gushā*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, II, 32 (note).

affection and were always ready to follow a chief, whose presence might furnish them with a pretext for plunder and brigandage. However, the dissension between the Atabeg and the widow of his brother, of which we have spoken before, brought about an understanding between Ṭughril and the latter, by which the Sultan was enabled to march upon Hamadhān and to make his entry into the capital of the Saljuks (Nov. 1187). This was a great success, but soon serious difficulties arose, which made it very uncertain if the newly won independence would last and could be maintained against the power of the Atabeg.

From the beginning there were two factions at Hamadhān, the people, if not indifferent, held to the cause of the Saljuk Sultan, but the great Turkish Emirs of the former Atabeg Pahlawān, by whose aid Ṭughril had ascended the throne, remained partisans of the rule of the Atabegs and defended the rights of Ḳutlugh Inānj against Ḳizil Arslān. In their opinion the real power should belong, as had been the case under Ildegiz and Pahlawān, to the Atabeg, the Sultan should be content with his title and some outward honours. The arrogance of these Emirs was unbearable, and their mutual jealousy became a serious danger, as it lamed every action against the common enemy. This was clearly demonstrated by an incident which took place some months after the accession of Ṭughril. The important city of Ispahān was held by Abū Bakr, the favourite of Ḳizil Arslān, but he and the commander Sirāj ud-dīn Ḳaimāz were obliged by their adversaries in that city to depart and to join Ḳizil Arslān in Azarbaijān. Ṭughril deemed this a fit occasion for sending an expedition from Hamadhān, that should seize the persons named above on their way thither. But some days afterwards the dead corpses of the leaders of the expedition, who were taken unawares and slain, were conveyed in a cart to Hamadhān, Muḥarram 584 (March 1188). This misfortune caused a great consternation and mistrust, highly detrimental to the authority of the new Sultan.

In the meantime Kizil Arslān had gathered his forces, and in order to take the Sultan between two fires he had sollicited the help

of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdād, which he had no difficulty in obtaining, for since the days of al-Mustarshid and ar-Rāshid Saljukian rule was at Baghdād equally feared and detested. Great sums —the author of the *Zubdat* speaks of 600,000 dinars—were expended to collect an army under the command of the Vizir Jalāl ud-dīn b. Yūnus. Success would have been almost certain, if the commander had been wise enough to postpone an engagement with the enemy till Ḳizil Arslān had arrived with his troops, but the Vizir, who was nothing less than a good general, marched at once from Kirmanshāhān in the direction of Hamadhān, dreaming of an easy victory. On the 5th or 7th May 1188 both armies met at Dāimarg near Hamadhān. In the ensueing battle the army of the Caliph was utterly defeated and forced to retreat to Baghdād by the desertion of the Turkoman troops under their chieftain Maḥmūd b. Barjam al-Ivāī[1] and by the impetuous bravery of Ṭughril, who, as he testifies himself in Persian verses, occurring on p. 346 of the text of Rāwandī, owed this brilliant victory to his good luck after having run serious risk of being killed.

[1] The *nisba* is from ايوه, the name of a Turkoman tribe, which I have identified many years ago (WZKM., vol. II, p. 226) with the Ghuzz-tribe No. 23 in the list of Rashīd ud-dīn. Afterwards the text of al-Ḳashghari's *Dīwān lughāt at Turk* was published and from it (see vol. I, p. 56) we learn that the correct spelling is اڤا or يڤا, probably to be pronounced Ivā or Yivā and not Yaiwa, as I proposed l. c. European scholars have often misread the name as ابوه and pronounced Abuh, e. g. le Strange, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl. p. 105, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, p. 192, where even Sulaimanshāh, chieftain of the Ivā, who is meant in the text, is confounded with Sulaimanshāh the Saljuk. This Sulaimanshāh is no obscure personnage but identical with the generalissimus of the last Abbasid Caliph, whose history may be found in the *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, pp. 551—553 and in the *Sharafnāme* of Bidlīsi. He and other chieftains of the tribe in question are often styled ملكى ايوه or even ملكى الايوه, v. g. in the text of an-Nasawī, ed. Houdas (see pp. 186. 187. 200). The tribe itself named ايوائية (erroneously sometimes ايوانية) acknowledged the supremacy of the Abbasid Caliph, whose armies in this epoch consisted mainly of Turkomans and Kurds from the neighbouring districts of Kurdistān. That these auxiliaries, when a serious battle was at hand, took up their baggage and ran away, as in the case mentioned in the text, was no rare occurrence. After the invasion of the Mongols the name of the tribe so often mentioned in the last years of the Abbasids disappears from the pages of eastern chronicles.

Nothing, however, was gained by this success; the Caliph raised fresh troops, and Ḳizil Arslān was on his guard and deferred a direct attack on Hamadhān till he had joined these troops. In the meantime Ṭughril prepared his own ruin by a rupture with the Turkish Emirs, who adhered to the cause of Ḳutlugh Inānj. He ordered the death of two of the greatest Emirs Aiaba and Özaba (July 1188), with the effect that, instead of against one enemy, Ḳizil Arslān, he had henceforward also to fight against Ḳutlugh Ināṇj and was abandoned by some of his best allies. Some time afterwards Dhu 'l-Hijja 584 (Jan. Febr. 1189) occurred the events of which I have spoken before, viz. the violent death of ʿAlā ud-dīn ʿArabshāh and other officials, whereby the situation was again aggravated. By these bloody executions, Ṭughril was decried as a bloodthirsty tyrant, who killed his own men on mere suspicion. See the judgment of his character by ʿImād ud-dīn, Conquête de la Syrie, ed. Landberg, p. 408; Bondārī, p. 301.

These affairs diverted the attention of the Sultan from what happened at this epoch at Ispahān. After the departure of Abū Bakr civil war continued amongst the inhabitants of this city, and Ṭughril's commander Özdemür, unable to maintain himself against his adversaries, implored his immediate assistance, particularly as also Ḳutlugh Ināṇj marched with an army against him. But Ṭughril pretended that an expedition was impossible before the end of the winter, and when he at length moved from Hamadhān, Özdemür had already been killed (Ṣafar 585 = March—April 1189), and part of the city was already in the possession of Ḳutlugh Ināṇj. At his arrival the latter escaped with his followers and joined Ḳizil Arslān, who furnished him with fresh troops. With these reinforcements he returned to al-ʿIrāḳ and forced the Sultan, whose troops dwindled away by desertions, to decamp from Ispahān and to flee, leaving everything behind, towards Azarbaijān. Here he found a refuge at the castle of a Turkoman chief, named ʿIzz ud-dīn Ḥasan b. Ḳifjāḳ, whose men considered the arrival of the Sultan as a welcome pretext for depredating the region of Ushnu, Urmiya, Khūi and Salmās, till they were driven back by the troops of Ḳizil Arslān.

In these circumstances Ṭughril thought fit to open negotiations, forgetting that his enemies knew too well that his power was at an end and that he would be compelled to submit. A message was sent to the Caliph of Baghdād to present excuses, that he had been obliged by dire necessity to fight against his troops, with the promise that he would henceforth respect the orders of the Commander of the Faithful. As a proof of the sincerity of his intentions he even sent an infant son as a hostage to the court of the Caliph.[1] We may safely guess that the result of these overtures was purely negative, though we do not know the answer. Such was also the case with his messages and letters to Ṣalāḥ ud-dīn, whose answer may be read in ʿImād ud-dīn, Conquête de la Syrie, ed. Landberg, p. 235, Bondārī, p. 302. Ḳizil Arslān, on the contrary, feigned to listen to his proposals, which implied that he should content himself with the possession of al-ʿIrāḳ, but as Ṭughril, confiding in his oath, dismissed his Turkomans, he attacked him unawares. This time he failed to captivate him, but some time afterwards Ṭughril was obliged to surrender himself to his antagonist and was imprisoned with his son in the castle of Kahrān, on the banks of the Araxes in the district of Ḳubān[2] (Ramaḍān 586 = Oct. 1190). The Atabeg, who had before proclaimed Sanjar b. Sulaiman Sultan instead of Ṭughril, now deemed it fit to put aside this puppet Sultan and went to Hamadhān, where he took possession of the throne of the Saljuks with the approval of the Caliph. How he was afterwards found lying dead in his tent (Aug. 1191) and how, by this event, Ṭughril regained his liberty and saw himself once more reinstalled on the throne of his ancestors has already been told before.

However, the end of his career was now near at hand. Takash the Khwārizmshāh had profited from the reigning disorder in al-ʿIrāḳ

[1] The author of the *Zubdat* relates that this son was conducted to Baghdād with a sword in his hand and a pall on his shoulders, in order to kiss the threshold of the palace of the Caliphs, but these details are hardly compatible with the tender age of the infant.

[2] See Ḥamdallāh Ḳazwīnī, ed. le Strange, p. 83. Instead of Kahrān Rāwandī, p. 362 has دزمار (cp. Yāḳūt s. v. دزّمار).

and Azarbaijān to occupy ar-Ray. Ṭughril heavily remonstrated against this break of peace, and the Khwārizmshāh entered for the moment into negotiations, because of his dispute with his brother Sulṭānshāh, which forced him to withdraw his troops from al-ʿIrāḳ. He left, however, a garrison in ar-Ray under the command of his general Tamghātch, but Ṭughril marched at once thither, expelled the Khwārizmians and ordered the demolition of the often named castle Ṭabarak near this city.[1] Afterwards he returned to Hamadhān, but his Vizir Muʿīn ud-dīn al-Kāshī, who remained at ar-Ray, retired thence as Ḳutlugh Inānj with his troops made his appearance. He thereby excited the anger of his master, who at once divested him from his office and himself marched against his antagonist, who in the meantime had received reinforcements from Khwārizm amounting to 7000 horsemen. In the ensueing battle near the town he gained a complete victory (4 Muḥarram 590 = 30 Dec. 1193), but instead of preparing himself for the more serious war with the Khwārizmshāh, he passed his days at ar-Ray with merry-making and spurned the advice of his Emirs to retire provisionally to Sāwa, in order to gain time so that the troops of Zanjān and Ispahān might join him. Even if Takash would proceed thither, they added, the defiles between Sāwa and Mashkūya will offer the best defence and, at the worst, you may retreat to Hamadhān or Ispahān.[2] But Ṭughril remained deaf to their counsel and stayed at ar-Ray, till the armies of the Khwārizmshāh arrived in the last days of Rabīʿ I (March 1194) at Khuwār near ar-Ray. At this moment he may have recited the verses:[3] Bring me my cuirass and I will put it on, for this affair

[1] Some interesting details about the siege, the final conquest and ruin of the castle may be read in Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 507.

[2] *Zubdat at-Tawārīkh*, f. 108b. The author of this chronicle states from private information that the great ḥādjib of the Khwārizmshāh Shihāb ud-dīn Masʿūd b. al-Ḥusain opened a secret correspondence with Ṭughril and gave the hint that the possession of ar-Ray was a point of honour to his master. If you will resign to him this town, he added, we will use our influence to persuade him to leave the rest of al-ʿIrāḳ in your possession and withdraw his troops.

[3] The Persian original, as preserved by ʿAwfi, *Lubb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne I, 41 and with some variants also in the *Nigāristān*, ed. Bombay 1275, p. 194, sounds:

has befallen me and I will exert myself. As long as my soul is in my body and my head on my shoulders, I will not sell the kingdom of al-ʿIrāḳ for my head. Then he left the city and met the enemy at a farsakh's distance from the town, only followed by some sixty men, but before he reached the hostile ranks, he fell from his horse by some accident, which is differently told, and Ḳutlugh Inānj, who commanded the vanguard, rushed upon him and severed his head from his body. This trophy was brought to Takash, who sent it to Baghdād; the corpse itself was exposed on a gibbet in the market-place of ar-Ray and afterwards, as the *Zubdat* relates, buried in or near the tomb of his ancestor and namesake Ṭughrilbeg. The day of his death is fixed by Juwainī, *Taʾrīkh-i Jahāngushā* II, p. 32 on Thursday 29 Rabīʿ I 590 (25th March 1194); other dates are given by IA XII, 70, Rāwandī, p. 371, Mīrkhwānd, ed. Vullers, p. 259, the author of the *Zubdat* f. 109b, but only that of Juwainī is correct and confirmed by Abū Ḥāmid. Born in 564 (1168—1169) he was only 25 years old at the time of his death, but his career, short as it was, was not unglorious. He struggled in vain to restore the ancient splendour of the Saljukian Empire, but it was not his fault that he failed to attain this end. He was the last representative, at least in al-ʿIrāḳ, of an illustrious race of kings,[1] who by his virtues and tragical fate has a just title to our interest and sympathy.

آن جوشن من بیار تا در پوشم
کین کار مرا افتاد هم در کوشم
تا در تنم است جان وسر بر دوشم
من ملك عراق را بسر نفروشم

Instead of these verses the author of the *Guzīda* and Mīrkhwānd let him recite some well known verses from the *Shāhnāme*, but I think the foregoing verses are better adapted to express his state of mind, though he may not have recited them just at the moment of the combat.

[1] Two sons of Ṭughril remained in the captivity of the Khwārizmshāhs, till Turkān Khātūn ordered them to be drowned in the Jaiḥūn, as she left Khwārizm on the advice of her son Muḥammad after his defeat in the war with the Mongols. A daughter of his married the Atabeg Özbeg till she was taken from him by Jalāl ud-dīn. Cf. Nasawī, ed. Houdas, pp. 39. 118. 119. 153. 154. Juwainī, ed. Mīrzā Ḳazwīnī II, pp. 156. 199. She bore a son to Özbeg named Ṭughril, Rāwandī, p. 393.

Personal Pronominal Elements in Sumerian.

By

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Owing to the great number of verbal prefixes in Sumerian which tend to confuse the investigator, the question as to the expression of the personal pronominal relations in the verbal inflexion has long been a problem for sumerologists. Poebel, however, in his recent ,Sumerian Grammar'[1] has now contributed much valuable material to this study, throwing a new light especially on the possible fusion of the pronominal elements with the verbal prefixes. The object of the following paper is to treat briefly of the entire subject.[2]

All sumerologists are essentially agreed as to the forms of the separate personal pronouns; *viz.*,

mae = *me* ,I'	*menne* (P. *menden, mende, mede, meden*) ,we'
zae = *ze* ,thou'	*menzen* (omitted by D. p. 24) ,you'
ene ,he, she, it'	*enene* ,they'

Poebel gives also the following forms for the gen., dat., and loc. (p. 65):

ma-(k) ,of me'	*ma-r, ma-ra* ,to me'
za-(k) ,of thee'	*za-ra* ,to thee'
ene-(k) ,of him, her, it'	*ene-r* ,to him, her, it'
mendan-a(k) ,of us'	*menden-ra, mende-r* ,to us'
menzan-a(k) ,of you'	*menzen-ra, zara-nzen* ,to you'
enene-k ,of them'	*enene-ra, enene-r* ,to them'

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[1] Arno Poebel, *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik,* 1923, Rostock.

[2] The following abbreviations have been used: Akk. = Akkadian (Semitic version); AJSL. = *American Journal of Semitic Languages;* D. = Fried. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar,* 1914, Leipzig; MSL = J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon,* 1908, Leipzig; p., pp. = person, persons (1, 2, 3 = first, second, third); P. = Arno Poebel, *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik,* 1923, Rostock; pl. = plural; resp. = respectively; sfx. = suffix; sg. = singular; VR. = Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions from Western Asia,* Vol. V.

ma-a[3] ‚upon me'	*mende-a* ‚upon us'
za-a ‚upon thee'	*menzen-a*, *za-anzen* ‚upon you'
ene-a ‚upon him'	*enene-a* ‚upon them'

It should be observed that P. has adopted the form *menden* with *d* for the 1 p. pl., instead of what seems to be the more correct *menne*. P. was, no doubt, influenced by the gen. *mendan-a(k)* ‚of us' with *d* (p. 68*c*). Here it is more probable that the *-dan* contains a prepositional infix *-d-* with a loc. vowel *-a-* and that the original form of the 1 p. pl. was *menne(n)* with *-ne(n)*, as the sign NE = both *ne* and *de*. The same loc. vowel *-a-* appears also in the gen. *menzan-a(k)* = ‚of you'.

Before proceeding to detailed discussion, the personal endings of the verbal scheme, as admirably expounded by Poebel (pp. 173 ff. and paradigms, pp. 301 ff.), should be examined. The probable suffixes, according to P., are as follows:

	Active and Intrans. Pres.-Fut.	Permansive Intrans.	Act. Pret.
1	*-en*	*-en*	*-'-*
2	*-en*	*-en*	*-e-*
3	*-e*	(no ending)	*-n-*
1	*-enden (= -ennen)*	*-enden(-ennen)*	*-me-*
2	*-enzen*	*-enzen*	*-ene*
3	*-ene*	*-eš*	*-n . . . š*

Applying these to paradigms we have (p. 301 p.):

	Act. and Intrans. Present-Future	Permans. Intrans.
1	*igarren (= igar-en)*	*igubben (= igub-en)*
2	*igarren (= igar-en)*	*igubben (= igub-en)*
3	*igarre (= igar-e)*	*igub*
1	*igarrenden (= igar-ennen)*	*igubbenden (= igub-enden)*
2	*igarrenzen (= igar-enzen)*	*igubbenzen (= igub-enzen)*
3	*igarrene (= igar-ene)*	*igubbuš (= igub-eš)*
	‚I put', &c.	‚I stand', &c.

[3] The identity of the gen. and loc. ending *-a* should here be noted. The real sign of the gen. is of course *-k*, which, however, is frequently omitted.

Act. Pret.

1 *igar (=i'gar)*	1 . . . .
2 *igar, iegar*	2 . . . .
3 *ingar*	3 *igarreš (=igar-eš)*

,I have put', &c.

Here two distracting features at once strike the student; *viz.*, the apparent identity of the 1 and 2 pp. sg. in the Active and Intrans. Present Future as well as in the Permans. Intrans. and the hidden differentiation of the 1 p. sg. in the active preterite.

Poebel has grouped his verbal inflexions under seven headings or themes, i. e., *i-lal, mu-lal, al-lal, bí-lal, bi-lal, immi-lal, ba-lal, imma-lal.* He evidently regards the Sumerian verb-roots as associated with carrying prefixes of no personal force (*i-, mu-, al-*, &c.), which are, in reality, auxiliary substantival elements, each prefix being associated by as yet undefined rules with the respective roots making the verb-root thus affected really a verb-noun capable of being acted upon by both suffixes and infixes.

In AJSL. xix, p. 204, I pointed out that the Sumerian pronominal elements should be divided into two classes; *viz.*, those which are determinative with respect to person and those which are not. At that time (1903), I also stated that the fundamental principle of first and second personal differentiation seems to be the occurrence in the context of some determining word or construction. This theory, which is in the main correct, has been amplified by Poebel, who clearly sees that the majority of verbal prefixes are not personal and that we must therefore seek for personal distinctions, either in suffixes or in connexions, i. e., in fusion, with the non-personal suffixes. A parallel to the latter principle seems to exist in later Coptic (Sahidic), where many such impersonal prefixes occur before verbal roots with the personal suffixes appended to the prefixes, while the root itself remains unchanged, as: *ai-ǰō* ,I said', *ak-ǰō* ,thou saidst', *af-ǰō* ,he said', &c. In this form *a-* really means ,did', so that *ai-ǰō* = lit. ,did I say'. It is clear, therefore, that these prefixes must be considered as auxiliary verbs inflected with suffixes,

which, in the course of development, came each one to be inseparable and capable of altering the meaning of a verb-root according to the function of the prefixed element. The resemblance between Coptic and Sumerian in this respect is merely superficial, as the fundamental principle in Sumerian seems to be radically different to that of the Coptic, because the Sumerian prefixes have neither tense nor, so far as is yet known, modal significance.

It should be noted that P. assigns to the prefixes *bi-* and *immi-* dimensional sense (pp. 237, 240), to *ba-* a reflexive meaning (cf. *ba-til -imtût*, p. 243), likewise with possible dimensional force (p. 248), which *immi-* and *imma-* also seem to possess. The whole subject of these Sumerian verbal prefixes seems to be swathed in doubt so far as meaning is concerned, so that we may at present only regard these prefixes as elements used to carry the root, possibly indicating a tendency towards bisyllabism.[1] The origin of the prefixes was probably substantival (prepositional) rather than auxiliary verbal as in Coptic.

If one examines the paradigms of the personal pronouns, it would seem clear that *m* is the distinctive element of the 1 p. sg. and pl., that *z* distinguishes the 2 p. sg. and pl., while *n* appears as the principal inherent root of the third personal pronoun. In VR. 27, No. 5, 6 ff. occurs a series of equations relating to the 2 p. pl.: *ab-zen*, *an-zen*, *en-zen*, *íb-zen*, *ib-zen*, *in-zen*, *me-zen*, *men-zen*, *un-zen* = Akk. *attûnu* ,ye', in all which forms appears the *-zen*-element, which evidently contains the *z* of *zae* = *ze* ,thou'. In the dat. pl. form *zaranzen* ,to you' (see above), the *z*-element is repeated twice; *viz.*, with the dat. sfx. *-ra* ,unto' and with the ending *-zen*, common to all the

[1] The tendency towards bisyllabism is observed in Chinese, an essentially monosyllabic language; thus, *me-li* = ,beautiful', where *me* and *li* each = ,beautiful'; *kwah-kwŭ* ,wide' (*kwah* ,wide' + *kwŭ* ,wide'); *shu-mu* ,tree' (*shu* = ,tree' + *mu* ,tree'); cf. in Sum. *gi-bil* ,fire' where *gi* and *bil* each = ,fire'; *a-za-lulu* ,people', where *a* is the abstract prefix + *za* ,man' + reduplicated *lu* also = ,man'. This trend is similar to the tendency towards triliteralism in Semitic, which, from what was probably originally a biconsonantal system, produced an almost uniform triliteral development (Prince, *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 39, p. 269).

forms for *attûnu* ,ye' just cited. The same principle applies to the loc. *za-anzen* with double 2 p. and loc. *-a*. In these forms, therefore, there can be no doubt as to the presence of a redundant second personal root. Similar to the numerous forms for *attûnu*, just given, we find *an-nen, en-nen, in-nen, men-nen, un-nen*, all = *nînu* ,we' (MSL. 33). With respect to the latter combinations, I have already suggested (MSL. 33) that the *-nen*-element is here an assimilation for *-men*, i. e. *an-nen* = *an-men; en-nen* = *en-men;* &c., containing the first personal *m*-element, preceded by a demonstrative prefix probably of abstract (*scil.* plural) force, fused with the indicative *n*, the same as that seen in the 3 p. pronoun *ene* ,he, she, it'; pl. *enene* ,they'. If this theory is correct, all the forms just cited are really only collective[1] abstracts and hence plurals, respectively of the 2 and 1 persons.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the verb ,to be' is also indicated, chiefly enclitically, by *-men*; thus, *-men* ,I am'; *-men* ,thou art'; *-am* ,he, she, it is'; *-mennen* ,we are'; *-menzen* ,you are'; *meš* ,they are'. Here in the 1 and 2 pp. pl., i. e., in *mennen* (*menne*), *menzen* ,we are, you are', resp., we have identical forms with the pronouns themselves of the 1 and 2 pp. pl. (see above), which fact merely shows that these pronouns are really not true *separata*, as *mae, zae* resp. ,I, thou', seem to be, but that the *men-* in each instance is the *me*(*n*) = the root of the verb ,to be'. In *menne* (*mennen*) ,we' and *menzen* ,you', therefore, the first element is the verb ,to be' = *me-* (the carrying form of the root is *i-me*) + the *n* of the 1 and 2 pp. = *men-* (see below). This *men-* is prefixed as an abstract (plural) indicator to the elements *-ne-* = assimilation from *me*, the 1 p. element and the indicative *-n*, and also to *ze-* = the element of the 2 p. + the same indicative *-n*. The other forms *an-nen, en-nen, in-nen* and *un-nen* ,we', and *ab-zen, an-zen, en-zen, ib-zen* (*íb-zen*), *in-zen* and *un-zen* ,ye', are similar abstractions, as suggested above, used to denote the collective (= the plural). If this theory is correct, Delitzsch

[1] The so-called abstract prefix is well known in Sumerian and was first remarked by Paul Haupt. It is quite evident that its force is largely collective.

was wrong in supposing that *menne* ‚we' stood for the 1 p. element + *ene* ‚he'; viz., *menne* = ‚I and he'.[1] It would, however, be tempting to regard the *-ne* in *menne* ‚we' as a plural sign, *-ene*, as in the pl. of nouns (*dingir-ene* ‚gods', &c.), were it not for the combination forms for the 1 and 2 pp. pl. just cited and discussed.

If we now look at the personal endings as shown in the suffixes of the Act. and Intrans. Present Future and the Permans. Intrans., it will be seen that there is apparently no distinction made between the 1 and 2 pp. sg.; *viz.*, that the ending is *-en* in each case: *igarren, igarren; igubben, igubben* (see above). The same phenomenon appears in the enclitic forms of *me-* ‚to be', i. e., *-men* = ‚I am' and ‚thou art' given above. Here one would expect the endings *-me(n)* (or *-wen*; *m* = *w*) = 1 p. and *ze(n)* = 2 p., respectively. It is quite possible that a fusion has taken place here; *viz.*, that the 1 p. *igub-en* = **igub-m(w)en* and the 2 p. *igub-en* = **igub-zen*, while *-men* ‚I am' and ‚thou art' stands for **mewen*, 1 p., and **mezen* 2 p. This seems a logical deduction, as the pl. endings show for the 1 and 2 pp. respectively *-mennen* and *-menzen*.

Quite as difficult is the attempted analysis of the 1 ard 2 pp. sg. in the prefixes of the Act. Preterite which has the forms *igar*, *igub* for both persons. According to P., the 1 p. has the element -ʾ- fused with the verbal prefix; thus, *igar* ‚I have put' is for **iʾgar*, which could only mean that a glottal catch was pronounced in *iʾgar*, *muʾlal*, &c. (1 p. sg.). This is of course not impossible, as the glottal catch may be used to denote grammatical distinctions; cf., for example, its use in Juttish, to indicate the pl. of nouns, as *hat* ‚hat', but *haʿt* ‚hats', but what did Poebel's -ʾ- element represent in the 1 p. *igar*? If it really were present, it could only have stood for *im(w)-gar*, *mum(w)-lal*, &c., following P.'s scheme of prefixes, because the 2 p. infix *-e-* really does appear, as will now be seen. I have already shown that the method of writing Sumerian probably did

[1] If *menne* ‚we' = ‚I and he', it would be the exclusive ‚we' of so frequent occurrence in American languages and would connote *menzen*, as ‚I and thou' = the inclusive ‚we', which is clearly not the case, as *menzen* = *attûnu* ‚ye'.

not in many instances correspond with the actual pronunciation,[1] so that there is no reason to suppose that *igar, mulal* might not have been uttered *i'gar*, *mu'lal* for the first person. This is further borne out by the fact that the 2 p. element in the Act. Pret. was often written *-e-*, although this *-e-* frequently coalesced in the writing with the prefix, so that we find *i-e-gar, e-gar* and also *igar* = ‚thou hast put'. Here, as in the case of the 1 p., we find the same ambiguity in writing, although less marked, as the *-e-* element is more pronouncedly indicated by examples than is the supposed -'- of the 1 p. Similarly, we find *mu-e-gar* and *mu-gar* = 2 p.; also *bi-gar* and *bi-e-gar*, &c. In these instances, it must be supposed that the actual *-e-* of the 2 p. influenced the preceding vowel of the impersonal prefix, so that, for example, *i-gar* (2 p.) was pronounced always *e-gar*, and that *bi-gar* (2 p.) was *be-gar*, *mu-lal* (2 p.) was *mülal*, &c., all which harmonizes with my theory as to the indeterminate character of the Sumerian phonetics as represented by the cuneiform script.

It is quite possible that, in the later period of Sumerian, these identical writings may have given rise to distinguishing grammatical tones, such as occur to-day in West African Yóruba, used to indicate differences in grammatical relation; thus, Yóruba *ile* ‚house': *ile-re* ‚thy house', but *ile-rè* (another tone with *re*) ‚his, her, its house'; while similarly *o* = ‚thou' and *ò* (with different tone) = he, she, it' (S. Crowther, Grammar of the Yóruba Language, 1852, p. 12). It is equally possible that the fusion of forms in the 1 and 2 pp. in Sumerian may not have been distinguished at all in pronunciation, but in accordance with my original theory, have required determining pronouns, as in English ‚I have, you have', &c.

Finally, what is the *-e*-element of the 2 p. sg.? This can only have been a degeneration of *ze* ‚thou', fused with the impersonal verbal prefix; thus, *i-e-gar* ‚thou hast put' must have been originally **i-ze-gar*; *mu-e-gar* = **mu-ze-gar*, &c. It is not unusual for a sibilant

[1] J. D. Prince, *Phonetic Possibilities in Sumerian, Acta Orientalia* II, pp. 63—76.

thus to disappear between or after vowels; cf. dialectic Spanish: *lo' mujeres* ,the women'; *e'pañol*, for *español*, &c. The cuneiform script does not indicate whether or not there was a breathing before the *-e-* of the 2 p. sg. i. e., whether *i-e-gar* was pronounced *i-he-gar* =*i-ze-gar* (a sibilant of course frequently changes to *h*). It should also be noticed that there was another pronominal *-e*-element, *viz.*, that of the 3 p., seen, for example, in the pronoun of the 3 p. *e-ne* ,he, she, it', and also in the suffix *igarre* (*igar-e*) ,he put', of the Act. and Intrans. Pres. Fut. As this latter *e* seems to have been purely a suffix, there was no danger of its confusion with the *e*- of the 2 person.

It is unfortunate that the infixes of the 1 and 2 pp. pl. of the Act. Pret. are not well established, as their discovery would tend to throw more light on the problem of the 1 and 2 p. infixes sg. of the same tense. P. gives the infixes of the 1 and 2 pp. pl. of this tense as *-me-* and *-ene-* respectively, which would occur as **i-me-gar* ,we have put'; **i-ene-gar* ,you have put' (pl.). In the paradigms, however, he omits these forms entirely, giving only the 3 p. pl. *igarreš* (=*igar-eš*). If *-me-* ,we' and *-ene-* ,you' really existed, it is clear that the *me*-form was the *m*-form of the 1 p., while probably *-ene-* stood for original *-enze-* with the *z* of the 2 p. in the same manner as *menzen* ,ye'.

It will appear from the above brief study that the subject of pronominal differentiation in Sumerian requires a still closer examination depending on an exhaustive reading of the entire text material.

ARGUMENTA ET VERBA.

AUTORES.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II, p. 294, l. 6 Campa, lege Kambodia
„ „ „ 302, l. 3 earrings, „ footrings.

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